A TRVE RELATION OF THE VNIVST, CRVELL, AND BARBAROVS PROCEEDINGS against the ENGLISH at AMBOYNA

In the EAST-INDIES, *by the Netherlandish* GOVERNOVR *and* COVNCELL *there.*

Also the copy of a Pamphlet, set forth first in Dutch and then in English, by some Netherlander; falsely intituled,

A TRVE DECLARATION OF THE Newes that came out of the EAST-INDIES with the Pinace called the HARE, which arrived at TEXEL in Iune, 1624.

Together with an Answer to the same PAMPHLET.

By the English EAST-INDIA Company.

THE THIRD IMPRESSION.

Published by AVTHORITY.

LONDON,
Printed by *G. Purslowe* for *Nathaniel Newberry*, 1632.

RELATION

OF THE INVASION,

CRUELTY, AND BARBA-

ROUS PROCEEDINGS

of the English

AMBOYNA

By the EAST-INDIA Co-

mpany and their

Confederates.

Also the Copy of a Letter sent from

the Dutch Ambassador in England

to the Lords the States General,

Newes that came out of the East-Indies with

the Pinnace called the Hare, relating

what was done at Banda in June 1623.

Together with a Narrative of the Dutch Cruelty

practised upon the English Merchants

and others at AMBOYNA.

By the English East-India Company.

THE THIRD IMPRESSION.

Printed by A. N. for John Stafford, 1632.

To The Reader.

Gentle Reader, thou mayst (perhaps) wonder why this Relation of the busineſſe of Amboyna, ſo many months ſince taken upon the oathes and depoſitions of our people that came thence, and preſented to his Majeſty, and the Lords of his Privie Councell; commeth now at laſt to the Preſſe, and was not either ſooner publiſhed, or altogether ſuppreſſed. The truth is, the Engliſh East-India Company have ever been very tender of the ancient amity and good correſpondence held between this Realme and the Netherlands, and have been very loth, by divulging of the private injuries done them by the Netherlands East-

India

India Company, to give the leaſt occaſion of any diſtaſte or diſaffection, which might haply grow betweene theſe two Nations, for the ſake and on the behalfe of the two Companies reſpectively. For which cauſe, although the wrongs and injuries, or rather contumelies done unto the Engliſh by the Dutch in the Indies, have beene as intolerable as manifold; as to ſay nothing of thoſe great heapes of them buried in the Amneſty *of the Treaty of the yeere* 1619. *and only to point at the generall heads of thoſe committed ſince that Treaty, and groſſely contrary to the maine intent, and expreſſe words and diſpoſition of the ſame: firſt, in the point of hoſtility; the invaſion of the Iſlands of* Lantore *and* Polaroone, *then and before in the quiet poſſeſsion of the Engliſh, in the name of the Crowne of England; the taking of the ſame Iſlands by force; the razing and demolliſhing of the Engliſh Forts; the binding of the Engliſh (that had not ſo much as reſiſted them) to ſtakes with ropes about their neckes, throttling them with the ſame, and flouriſhing their naked ſwords about them, as if they would preſently have diſpatched them; then taking them ſo amazed and bound, and tumbling them downe the rockes; and after, carrying their cruſhed and bruiſed carkaſes away in Irons: ſecondly, in the*

point of their usurped soveraignty; their taking upon them the Conscience of controversies between the English and the Indians, for matters passed farre without the compasse of the Netherlands pretended jurisdiction, and executing their sentences therupon by plain force; seazing of the English Companies goods; fining, imprisoning, stocking, yea, whipping our people at a post in the open Market-place, and after, washing them with vinegar and salt: thirdly, in point of partnership with the English; there putting great sums to the common account, which were disbursed to the private and sole behoofe of the Dutch; giving great Presents for the glory of the Dutch, without consent of the English, and making warre for the inlargement of their owne dominion, yet bringing the charge to the common account; together with infinite other the like, the particulars whereof would arise to a just and ample volume: Nevertheless, the English Company from time to time contented themselves with informing his Majestie and his Honourable Privie Councell with their grieuances priuately in writing, to the end that necessary reliefe and reparation might be obtained, without publishing any thing to the world in print, thereby to stirre up or breed ill blood between these Nations, which are otherwise tyed in so many re-

ciprocall obligations. And the ſame courſe they haue hitherto holden alſo in this crying buſineſſe of Amboyna; *onely offering to the* Manes *of their murdered Countrey-men, Factors and Kinsfolks, their effectuall endeauours in a dutifull courſe vnto his Majeſty, for juſtice for their innocent blood, and reparation of the honour of the Nation herein intereſſed. In which their wonted way they were ſo conſtant, that they could not be driuen out of the ſame by the contrary courſe of ſome of the other party; that not glutted nor mollified with the blood of theſe innocents, nor with all the other ſufferings of the Engliſh in the Indies, publiſhed a Pamphlet in print in the Netherlands Language, not only in juſtification of this barbarous butchery, but withall in diſgrace of the Engliſh Nation, and the lawes and juſtice of the ſame. But behold now further, the ſame Pamphlet, being called-in by an Edict of the States generall, was yet afterwards tranſlated and printed in Engliſh, and diſperſed euen in this Realme it ſelfe, to braue and diſgrace us at our own doores, and in our own language. This, no Engliſh patience can beare: the blood of the innocent cryes out againſt it: the honor of the nation ſuffereth in it. Wherefore the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company is hereby enforced, contrary to their deſire and cuſtome, to haue recourſe alſo to the Preſſe, to main-*

taine

taine the reputation of those their Countrey-men and servants, that lost their lives unjustly; and to acquaint the world with the naked truth of this cause, hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a fog of fictions, concealments, and crafty conveiances of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients the Governour & Councel (so termed) of Amboyna.

Having thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader, with the reasons why this businesse was no sooner published in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be satisfied in an objection or two more, which common reason will suggest unto thee. Without doubt, reading this discourse, and being a true patriote of thine owne Country, and a well-willer of the Netherlands (as wee presume and wish thee to be,) thou wilt wonder how it commeth to passe, that our Nation, which hath not been wont to receiue such disgraces, should now be so weak & unprovided in the Indies as to suffer such indignities, and to be so grosly overtopped, outraged & vilified there: as also thou wilt no lesse admire, that any of the Netherlands Nation which hath receiued such and so many favours and supports from hence, and held so good and ancient correspondence with our Nation, should now offer and commit such odious cõtumelies on Englishmen, their partners & allies by speciall Treaty. Herein thou wilt soon answer thy

ſelfe, if thou but conſider the difference and deſigne of the Engliſh and Dutch Companies trading in the Indies, appearing by their ſeuerall courſe and practiſe reſpectiuely. The Engliſh being ſubjects of a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his owne, and is therewith content, without affecting of new acqueſts; haue aimed at nothing in their Eaſt-India trade, but a lawfull and competent gaine by commerce and trafficke with the people of thoſe parts. And although they haue in ſome places builded Forts, and ſetled ſome ſtrength, yet that hath not been done by force or violence, againſt the good-will of the Magiſtrates or people of the countrey; but with their deſire, conſent and good liking, for the ſecurity only of the Trade, and upon the ſaid Magiſtrate and peoples voluntary yeelding themſelues under the obedience and ſoueraignty of the Crown of England; their owne ancient lawes, cuſtomes and priuiledges, neuertheleſſe reſerued. Further, the ſame Engliſh had undoubted confidence in the Netherlands Nation there alſo trading, eſpecially being lately conjoyned with them in the ſtrict alliance and ſociall confederacy of the yeere 1619. and therefore attended nothing from them, but the offices of good affection and partnerſhip. Vpon theſe grounds, the Engliſh Company made their equipages anſwerable only to

a courſe

a course of cõmerce and peaceable traffick; not expecting any hostility, neither from the Indians, nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Netherlanders, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of a faire & free commerce, invaded diuers Islands, took some Forts, built others, and laboured nothing more than the conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By reason whereof, as they were accordingly provided of shipping, souldiers, and all warlike prouision, as also of places of Rendevous upon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English as well as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Forts and Soldiers, imployed upon these designes, rose to such an height, as was not to be maintained by the Trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their owne Countrymen and Adventurers in their Company affirme) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, & so to take their ships, & make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and aduenture, they proceeded also to quarrell with the English, to debarre them of trade to free places; and for attempting such trade, to take their ships & goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the yeer, 1619.

yet they ſaw, they could not make their reckoning to any purpoſe, unleſſe they utterly draue the Engliſh out of the trade of thoſe parts; thereby to haue the whole and ſole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in theſe parts of Europe, in their owne hands; and ſo to make the price at their pleaſure, ſufficient to maintain & promote their conqueſts, and withall to yeeld them an ample benefit of their trading. Which unleſſe they can, by this and the like worrying and wearying of the Engliſh, bring to paſſe, it is eaſie to be judged by thoſe that underſtand any thing of the courſe and ſtate of the trade of thoſe parts, that albeit their returnes hereafter ſhould proue as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they haue happened to be, yet the main ſtock and eſtate of the Company muſt needs abate and decay by ſome hundred thouſands of pounds yeerly. Thus, Reader, thou ſeeſt what hath made us unprouided againſt ſuch accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, or their ſeruants in the Indies, againſt the common Genius of their Nation, and the wonted firme affection between theſe two Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into ſuch ſtrange and incredible outrages againſt their neereſt allies and beſt-deſeruing friends. Farewell.

A TRVE RELATION OF THE LATE VNIVST, CRVELL, AND BARBAROVS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST the *Engliſh* at AMBOYNA in the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the *Neatherlanders* there, upon a forged pretence of a Conſpiracy *of the ſaid Engliſh.*

AFter the fruitleſſe iſſue of two ſeverall Treaties: the firſt *An.* 1613. in *London*; and the other, *An.* 1615. at the *Hage* in *Holland*, touching the differences betweene the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*: at laſt by a third Treaty, *Anno* 1619. in *London*, there was a full and ſolemn compoſition made of all the ſaid differences and a faire order ſet for the future proceeding

ceeding of the Suppoſts of both Companies in the Indies; aſwell in the courſe of their Trade and commerce, as otherwiſe. Amongſt ſundry other points, it was agreed, That in regard of the great blood-ſhed and coſt, pretended to be beſtowed by the Hollanders in winning of the Trade of the Iſles of the *Molluccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the Spaniards and Portugals, and in building of Forts for the continuall ſecuring of the ſame, the ſaid Hollanders therefore ſhould enjoy two third parts, of that Trade, and the Engliſh the other third; and the charge of the Forts to be maintained by taxes and impoſitions, to bee levied upon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in conſequence of this agreement, the Engliſh East-India Company planted certaine Factories for their ſhare of this Trade; ſome at the *Molluccos*, ſome at *Banda*, and ſome at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of theſe, there will be, at this preſent, ſmall occaſion to ſpeake further; but the laſt will prove the Scene of a ſad Tragedie.

This *Amboyna* is an Iſland lying neere *Seran* of the circuit of forty leagues, and giveth name alſo to ſome other ſmal Iſlands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the Engliſh Company for their part had planted five ſeverall Factories, the head and *Rendevous* of all, at the Town of *Amboyna*; and therein firſt Maſter *George Muſchamp*, and afterward Maſter *Gabriel Towerſon*, their Agents, with directions over the ſmaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the ſame Iſland, and at *Cambello* and *Lobo*, upon a point of the neighbouring Iſland of *Seran*.

Vpon theſe Iſlands of *Amboyna*, and the point of

Seran,

Seran, the Hollanders have foure Forts: the chief of al is at the ſaid Town of *Amboyna*, and is very ſtrong having foure Points or Bulwarks with their curtains, and upon each of theſe Points, ſix great peeces of Ordnance mounted, moſt of them of braſſe. The one ſide of this Caſtle is waſhed by the Sea; and the other is divided from the land with a ditch of foure or five fathome broad, very deep, and ever filled with the Sea. The Garriſon of this Caſtle conſiſteth of about 200. Dutch ſouldiers, and a company of free Burgers. Beſides theſe, there is alwaies a matter of three or foure hundred Mardikers (for ſo they cal the free Natives) in the Town, ready to ſerve the Caſtle at an houres warning. Therē lie alſo in the road (for the moſt part) divers good ſhips of the Hollanders, aſwell for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occaſions of traffick; this being the chief *Rendevouz* aſwell for the Iſlands of *Banda*, as for the reſt of *Amboyna*. Heere the Engliſh lived; not in the Caſtle, but under protection thereof, in a houſe of their owne in the Town: holding themſelves ſafe, aſwel in reſpect of the ancient bonds of amity between both nations, as of the ſtrict conjunction made by the late Treaty before-mentioned.

They continued here ſome two yeers, converſing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the ſaid Treaty. In which time there fell out ſundry differences and debates betweene them; the Engliſh complayning, that the Hollanders did not onely laviſh away much money in building, and unneceſſary expences upon the Forts and otherwiſe, and bring large and unreaſonable reckonings thereof to the common accompt: but alſo did, for their part,

pay the Garrisons with victuals and cloth of *Coromandell*, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the English Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the English (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to *Iaccatra*, in the Island of *Iava Maior*, to the Councell of defence of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing upon the points in difference sent the same hither over into Europe, to be decided by both Companies here; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Majestie, and the Lords the States General, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the English and the Dutch, about these and other differences, continued and daily increased, untill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Amboyna* and *Iaccatra* could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth.

About the eleventh of February, 1622. *Stilo Veteri*, a *Iapon* Souldier of the Dutch in their Castle of *Amboyna*, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander,) and there amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is here to be noted, that those *Iapons* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Island) did for the most part, serve the Dutch as souldiers, yet were

not

not of their truſty bands, alwaies lodged in the caſtle but upon occaſion called out of the town to aſſiſt in the Watch. This *Iapon* aforeſaid, was for his ſaid conference with the Sentinell, apprehended upon ſuſpicion of treaſon, and put to the torture. Thereby (as ſome of the Dutch affirmed) he was brought to confeſſe himſelfe, and ſundry others of his countrey-men there, to have contrived the taking of the Caſtle. Heereupon, other *Iapons* were examined and tortured, as alſo a Portugal, the Guardian of the Slaves under the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure daies; ſome of the Engliſhmen went to and from the Caſtle upon their buſineſſe, ſaw the priſoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; but all this while ſuſpected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themſelves; having never had any converſation with the *Iapons*, nor with the Portugall aforeſaid. At the ſame time there was one *Abel Price* Chirurgion of the Engliſh, priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering in his drunkenneſſe to ſet a Dutch-mans houſe on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and ſhewed him ſome of the *Iapons*, whom they had firſt moſt grievouſly tortured, & told him, they had confeſſed the Engliſh to have been of their confederacy, for the taking of the Caſtle; & that if he would not confeſſe the ſame, they would uſe him even as they had done theſe *Iapons*, and worſe alſo. Having given him the torture, they ſoone made him confeſſe what ever they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*. Forthwith, about nine of the Clock the ſame morning, they ſent for Captaine

Abel Price examined.

taine *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the Engliſh that were in the Town, to come and ſpeak with the Governor in the Caſtle. They all went, ſave one that was left to keep the houſe. Being come to the Governor, he told Captain *Towerſon*, that himſelf and others of his Nation were accuſed of a conſpiracy to ſurpriſe the Caſtle; and therefore, untill further triall, were to remain priſoners. Inſtantly alſo they attached him that was left at home in the houſe, took the merchandize of the Engliſh Company there into their own cuſtody by Inventory, & ſeized all the cheſts, boxes, books, writings, & other things in the Engliſh houſe Captaine *Towerſon* was committed to his chamber, with a guard of Dutch ſouldiers: *Emanuel Tomſon* was kept priſoner in the Caſtle: the reſt, *viz. Iohn Beomont, Edward Collins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramſey, Timothie Iohnſon, Iohn Fardo* & *Robert Brown*, were ſent aboord the Hollanders ſhips then riding in harbour, ſome to one ſhip, and ſome to another, and all made faſt in Irons. The ſame day alſo the Governor ſent to the two other Factories in the ſame Iland to apprehend the reſt of the Engliſh there. So that *Samuel Colſon, Iohn Clark, George Sharrock*, that were found in the factory at *Hitto*, and *William Grigs*, and *Iohn Sadler* at *Larica*, were all brought priſoners to *Amboyna* the ſixteenth of February. Vpon which day alſo *Iohn Powle, Iohn Wetherall*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, were apprehended at *Cambello*, and brought in irons unto *Amboyna*, the twentieth of the ſame month. In the meane time, the Governour and Fiſcall went to worke with the priſoners that were already there. And firſt they ſent for *Iohn Beomont*,

and

and *Timothy Iohnſon*, from aboord the *Vnicorn*; who being come into the Caſtle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Iohnſon* was taken into another roome. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him cry out very pittifully; then to bee quiet for a little while, and then loud again. After taſte of the torture *Abel Price* the Chirurgion, that firſt was examined and tortured (as is above-remembred,) was brought in to confront and accuſe him. But *Iohnſon* not yet confeſſing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Iohnſon* brought again to the torture; where *Beomont* heard him ſometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afreſh. At laſt, after he had been about an houre in this ſecond examination, hee was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and ſo laid aſide in a by-place of the Hall, with a Souldier to watch him, that he ſhould ſpeak with no body. Then was *Emanuel Tomſon* brought to examination; not in the roome where *Iohnſon* had beene, but in another ſomething farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont*, being in the Hall heard him roare moſt lamentably, and many times. At laſt after an houre and an halfe ſpent in torturing him, he was caried away into another roome another way; ſo that he came not by *Beomont* through the Hall. Next, was *Beomont* called in, and beeing demanded many things, all which he denied with deep oathes and proteſtations, was made faſt to be tortured; a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with their Iarres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Governor bade looſe him; he would ſpare him a day or two, becauſe hee was an old man. This was all Saturdayes worke, the

Emanuel Tomſon examined.

fifteenth of February aforesaid.

Vpon Sunday the sixteenth of February, *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetcht from aboord the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the same time came *Samuel Colson*, *William Griggs*, and *Iohn Clarke*, *George Sharrock*, and *Iohn Sadler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*, and were immediately, upon their arrivall, brought into the Castle-Hall.

Robert Browne examined.

Robert Browne Tailor was first called in; and being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the Fiscall asked him.

Edward Collins examined.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined, had confest him as accessary to the plot of taking the Castle. Which, when he denied with great othes & execrations, they made his hands and feete fast to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throate, ready to bee put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confesse all. Being let downe, hee againe vowed and protested his innocency, yet said, that because he knew that they would by torture make him confesse any thing, though never so false, they should do him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him say, and he would speake it, to avoide the torture. The Fiscall hereupon said; What do you mocke us? and bade, up with him againe: and so gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to indure, prayed to be let downe againe to his confession. Then he devised a little with himselfe, and told them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himselfe, *Tomson*, *Iohnson*, *Browne*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the helpe of the *Iapons*, to sur-

ſurpriſe the Caſtle. Heere he was interrupted by the Fiſcall, and asked, whether Captaine *Towerſon* were not of that conſpiracy. Hee anſwered, No. You lye, ſaid the Fiſcall: did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that thoſe daily abuſes of the Dutch had cauſed him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your conſent and ſecrecie? Then ſaid a Dutch Merchant, one *Iohn Iooſt* that ſtood by, Did not you all ſweare upon a Bible to be ſecret to him? *Collins* anſwered with great othes, that he knew nothing of any ſuch matter. Then they bade make him faſt againe: whereupon he then ſaid, All was true that they had ſpoken. Then the Fiſcall asked him, whether the Engliſhin the reſt of the Factories, were not conſenting to this plot. He anſwered, No. The Fiſcall then asked him, whether the Preſident of the Engliſh at *Iaccatra*, or M. *Welden* Agent in *Banda*, were not plotters or privie to this buſineſſe. Againe he anſwered, no. Then the Fiſcall asked him, by what meanes the *Iaponers* ſhould have executed their purpoſe. Whereat when *Collins* ſtood ſtaggering and deviſing of ſome probable fiction, the Fiſcall holpe him, and ſaid, Should not two *Iaponers* have gone to each point of the Caſtle, and two to the Governors chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had bin without, and the Governour comming to ſee what was the matter, the *Iaponers* to have killed him? Here one that ſtood by, ſaid to the Fiſcall, Do not tell him what he ſhould ſay, but let him ſpeake of himſelfe. Whereupon the Fiſcall without attending the anſwer to his former queſtion, asked what the Iapons ſhould have had for their reward. *Collins* anſwered, 1000. Ryalls apeece. Laſtly, he asked him, when

this

this plot ſhould have beene effected. Whereunto, although hee anſwered him nothing (not knowing what to deviſe upon the ſudden) yet he was diſmiſſed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certaine beleefe that he ſhould die for this his confeſſion.

Sam. Colſon examined.

Next was *Samuel Colſon* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched; and was the ſame day broght to the torture: who, for feare of the paine wherewith he ſaw *Collins* come out, in ſuch a caſe, that his eyes were almoſt blowne out of his head with the torment of water; choſe rather to confeſſe all they asked him: and ſo was quickly diſmiſſed, comming out weeping, lamenting and proteſting his innocency.

Iohn Clark examined.

Then was *Iohn Clarke*, that came with *Colſon* from *Hitto*, fetcht in, and a little after was heard (by the reſt that were without in the Hal) to cry out amaine They tortured him with water and with fire, by the ſpace of two houres. The manner of his torture (as alſo of *Iohnſons* and *Tomſons*) was as followeth: Firſt, they hoiſed him up by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him faſt upon two Staples of Iron, fixt on both ſides at the top of the dore poſts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could ſtretch. Being thus made faſt, his feete hung ſome two foot from the ground; which alſo they ſtretcht aſunder as far as they would retch, and ſo made them faſt beneath unto the dore-trees on each ſide. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face ſo cloſe, that little or no water could go by. That done, they powred the water ſoftly upon his head untill the cloth was full, up to the mouth and

noſtrils.

noſtrills, and ſomewhat higher; ſo that he could not draw breath, but he muſt withall ſuck in the water: which being ſtill continued to be powred in ſoftly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his noſe, eares, and eyes; and often as it were ſtifling & choking him, at length took away his breath, & brought him to a ſwoune or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit up the water. Being a little recovered, they triced him up againe, and powred in the water as before, eftſoones taking him downe as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this maner they handled him three or foure ſeverall times with water, till his body was ſwolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great bladders, and his eyes ſtaring and ſtrutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this hee bare, without confeſſing any thing. Inſomuch as the Fiſcall and tormentors reviled him, ſaying that he was a Divell, and no man, or ſurely was a Witch; at leaſt had ſome charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare ſo much. Wherfore they cut off his haire very ſhort, as ſuppoſing he had ſome witchcraft hidden therein: Afterwards they hoiſed him up againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottome of his feete untill the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applyed they freſh lights unto him. They burnt him alſo under the elbowes, and in the palmes of the hands, likewiſe under the arme-pits, untill his inwards might evidently be ſeene. At laſt, when they ſaw he could of himſelfe make no handſome confeſſion, then they ledde him along with queſtions of particular circumſtances, by themſelves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment, hee

answered yea, to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine *Towerson* had upon New-yeeres day last before, sworne all the English at *Amboyna* to be secret and assistant to a plot that he had projected, with the helpe of the *Iaponers*, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Governor and the rest of the Dutch to death.

Having thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by foure Blacks, who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay five or six daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, until (his flesh being putrefied) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most loathsom & noysom maner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies work; & it growing now dark, sent the rest of the English (that came that day from *Hitto*, and til then attended in the Hall) first to the Smith's shop, where they were loaden with Irons, & then to the same loathsom dungeon where *Clark* and the rest were, accompanied with the poor *Iaponers*, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being Munday the seventeenth of February, old stile, *William Griggs* and *Iohn Fardo*, with certaine *Iaponers*, were brought into the place of examination.

Will. Griggs examined. The *Iaponers* were first cruelly tortured, to accuse *Grigs*; which at last they did: and *Grigs*, to avoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscall demanded.

Iohn Fardo examined. By and by the like also was done by *Iohn Fardo*, and other *Iaponers*: but *Fardo* himselfe endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscall asked him; and so was sent back to prison.

The same day also *Iohn Beomont* was brought the

second time to the Fiscals chamber, where one Captaine *Newport* a Dutch-mans son (borne in England) was used as an Interpreter. *William Grigs* was also brought in to accuse him; who said, that when the consultation for taking of the Castle, was held, then he (the said *Beomont*) was present. *Beomont* denied it with great earnestnesse and deep oaths. At last being triced up, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he answered affirmatively to al the Fiscals interrogatories: yet as soone as he was let down, he cleerly demonstrated to Captain *Newport* and *Johnson* a Dutch Merchant then also present, that these things could not be so. Nevertheless he was forced to put his hand to his confession, or else hee must to the torture againe: which to avoid, he subscribed; and so had a great iron bolt and two shackles riveted to his legs, & then was carried back to prison

Joh. Beomont examined.

After this, *George Sharrock*, Assistant at *Hitto*, was called in question; who, seeing how grievously others were martyred, made his earnest prayer to God (as since upon his oath hee hath acknowledged) that he would suffer him to make some such probable lies against himself, as the Dutch might beleeve, and so he might escape the torment. Being brought to the Rack, the water provided, and the candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiscall examined, & charged with the conspiracy. He fell upon his knees, and protested his innocency. Then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him, unlesse hee would confesse, he should be tormented with fire & water to death, and then should be drawne by the heeles to the gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in his innocency, the Fiscall bade him bee hoised up

George Sharrock examined.

up. Then he crayed reſpite awhile, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Amboyna*, upon New-yeeres day, when the conſultation was pretended; neither had beene there ſince November before, as was well knowne to ſundry of the Hollanders themſelves, that reſided there alſo with him. Heereupon they commanded him againe to the Racke: but he craving reſpite as before, now told them, that he had many times heard *Iohn Clark* (who was with him at *Hitto*) ſay, That the Dutch had done them many unſufferable wrongs, and that he would be revenged of them: to which end, he had once broken with Captaine *Towerſon* of a brave plot. At which word the Fiſcall and the reſt were attentive, encouraging him to proceed. So he went on, ſaying, that *Iohn Clark* had entreated Captain *Towerſon*, that he might go to Maccaſſar, there to conſult and adviſe with the Spaniards to come with gallies, and rob the ſmal Factories of *Amboyna* and *Seran*, when no ſhips were there. Here they asked him, what Captain *Towerſon* ſaid to this. He anſwered that Captain *Towerſon* was very much offended with *Clark* for the motion, and from thencefotth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiſcal called him rogue, & ſaid he prated al from the matter, and ſhould to the torture. He craved favour againe, and began another tale; to wit, that upon Twelf-day then laſt paſt, *Iohn Clarke* told him at *Hitto*, that there was a practice to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*; and asked him, whether he would conſent thereunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark* whether Captain *Towerſon* knew of any ſuch matter. Which *Clark* affirming; then he (the ſaid *Sharrock*) ſaid, that he would do as the reſt did. Then the Fiſcall

call asked him, what time the consultation was held He answered, In November last. The Fiscall said, That could not be: for, the consultation was upon New-yeeres day. The prisoner said as before in the beginning, that hee had not been in *Amboyna* since the first of December, till now that he was brought thither. Why then, quoth the Fiscall, have you belyed your self? Whereto the prisoner resolutely answered, that all that hee had spoken touching any treason, was false, and fained onely to avoid torment Then went the Fiscall out into another roome to the Governor, and anon returned, and sent *Sharrock* unto the prison againe. The next day he was called againe, & a writing presented him; wherein was framed a formall confession of his last conference with *Clark* at *Hitto*, touching the plot to take the Castle of *Amboyna*: which being read over to him, the Fiscal asked him, whether it were true or no. He answered No. When then said the Fiscall, did you confesse it? He answered, For feare of torment. The Fiscall and the rest in a great rage told him he lyed; his mouth had spoken it, and it was true, and therfore he should subscribe it. Which as soone as he had done, he fell presently into a great passion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent blood of himselfe and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the Day of Iudgement: withall hee grappled with the Fiscall, and would have stopped him from carrying in the confession to the Governor, with whom he also craved to speake; but was instantly laid hold on, and carryed away to prison.

William Webber, being next examined, was told by the Fiscal, that *Iohn Clark* had confessed him to have been *William Webber examined.*

been at *Amboyna* on New-yeeres day, and ſworne to Captaine *Towerſon*'s plot, &c. All which he denied, alleaging he was that day at *Larica*: yet, beeing brought to the torture, he then confeſſed, hee had bin at the conſultation at *Amboyna* upon New-yeers day, with all the reſt of the circumſtances in order as he was asked. He alſo further told them, hee had received a letter from *Iohn Clark*; after which was a Poſtſcript, excuſing his brief writing at that time, for that there was great buſineſſe in hand. But one *Renier* a Dutch Merchant, then ſtanding by, told the Governor, that upon New-yeres day, the time of this pretended conſultation, *VVebber* and hee were merry at *Larica*. So the Governor left him, and went out. But the Fiſcall held on upon the other point, touching the Poſtſcript of *Clark*'s Letter, urging him to ſhew the ſame. Which when hee could not doe, though often terrified with the torture, he gave him reſpite; promiſing to ſave his life, if hee would produce that Letter.

Gabriel Towerſon examined.

Then was Captaine *Towerſon* brought to the examination, and ſhewed what others had confeſſed of him. Hee deeply proteſting his innocencie, *Samuel Colſon* was brought to confront him: who beeing told, that unleſſe he would now make good his former confeſſion againſt Captain *Towerſon*, he ſhould to the torture; coldly re-affirmed the ſame, and ſo was ſent away. They alſo brought *VVilliam Grigs*, & *Iohn Pardo* to iuſtifie their former confeſſions to his face. Captain *Towerſon* ſeriouſly charged them, that as they would anſwer it at the dreadful day of Iudgment, they ſhould ſpeak nothing but the truth. Both of them inſtantly fell down upon their knees before him:

him; praying him for God's sake to forgive them, and saying further openly before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken onely to avoid torment. With that, the Fiscall and the rest offred them again to the torture: which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confessions to be true.

When *Colson* (who had accused Captain *Towerson* before) was required to set his hand to his confession, he asked the Fiscall, upon whose head he thought the sinne would lye; whether upon his that was constrained to confesse what was false, or upon the constrainers. The Fiscall, after a little pause upon this question, went in to the Governour then in another roome; but anon returning, told *Colson* he must subscribe it: which he did; yet withall made this protestation: Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse my selfe and others, of that which is as false as GOD is true: for, God is my witnesse, I am as innocent as the childe new borne.

Thus have they examined all that belong to the *English* Company, in the severall Factories of the Iland of *Amboyna*.

The one and twentieth of February, they examined *Iohn Wetherall*, Factor at *Cambello* in the Iland of *Seran*. He confessed, he was at *Amboyna* vpon New-yeeres day: but for the consultation, whereof he was demanded, he said he knew of no other, but touching certain cloth of the *English* Company, that lay in the Factories, rotting and worm-eaten; which they advised together how to put off to the best availe of their Imployers. The Governor said, they questioned him not about cloth, but of treason: whereof when hee had

Io. Wetherall examined.

had protested his innocency, hee was for that time dismissed. But the next day he was sent for again, & Captaine *Towerson* brought to confront and accuse him, having before (it seemes) confessed somewhat against him. But M. *Towerson* spake now these words onely: Oh M. *Wetherall*, M. *Wetherall*, speak the truth and nothing but the truth, as God shall put into your heart. So Captaine *Towerson* was put out againe, and *Wetheral* brought to the torture of water, with great threats, if water would not make him confesse, fire should. He prayed them to tell him what he should say, or to write downe what they would; he would subscribe it. They sayd, he needed no Tutor: they would make him confesse of himself: But when they had triced him up foure severall times, and saw hee knew not what to say, then they read him other mens confessions, & asked him from point to point, as they had done others: and he still answered, Yea to all.

John Powle examined.

Next was called in *John Powle*, *Wetherals* Assistant at *Cambello*: but he proving that he was not at *Amboyna* since November (save now when hee was brought thither prisoner,) and being spoken for by one *John Ioost*, who had long beene well acquainted with him, was dismissed without torture.

Thomas Ladbrook examined.

Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, servant to *Wetherall* and *Powle* at *Cambello*, brought to be examined: but prooving that he was at *Cambello* at the time of the pretended consultation, and serving in such qualitie, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, hee was easily and quickly dismissed:

Ephraim Ramsey, was also examined upon the whole preten-

pretended conspiracy, and particularly questioned concerning Captaine *Welden* the English Agent in *Banda*: but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-yeers tide, being also spoken for by *John Iooſt*, was dismissed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with the Irons upon his legs, and the cloth about his mouth. *Ephraim Ramsey examined.*

Lastly, *John Saddler*, servant to *William Grigs* at *Larica*, was examined; and being found to have been absent from *Amboyna* at New-yeeres tide, when *Grigs* and others were there, was dismissed. *John Saddler examined.*

Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confessions, being the worke of eight dayes, from the fifteenth unto the three and twentith of February. After which was two daies respite before the Sentence. *John Powle*, being himselfe acquitted as beforesaid, went to the Prison to visit *John Fardo*, one of those that had accused Captaine *Towerson*. To him *Fardo* religiously protested his innocency; but especially his sorrow for accusing M. *Towerson*: for, said he, the feare of death doth nothing dismay me; for, God (I trust) will be mercifull to my soule, according to the innocency of my cause. The onely matter that troubleth me, is, that through feare of torment I have accused that honest and godly man Captaine *Towerson*, who (I thinke in my conscience) was so upright and honest towards all men, that he harboured no ill will to any, much lesse would attempt any such businesse as he is accused of. Hee further said, he would before his death receive the Sacrament, in acknowledgement that hee had accused Captaine *Towerson* falsely and wrongfully, onely through feare of torment.

The five and twentieth of *February*, old Stile, all the prisoners, aswell the *English* as the *Portugall* and the *Iapons*, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnely condemned, except *Iohn Powle*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Iohn Saddler*, and *Thomas Ladbrooke*, formerly acquitted, as aforesaid.

Captaine *Towerson* having been (during all his imprisonment) kept apart from the rest, so that none of them could come to speake with him; writ much in his chamber (as some of the *Dutch* report) but all was suppressed, save onely a Bill of debt, which one *Th. Iohnson* a free Burgher got of him by favour of his Keepers, for acknowledgement that the *English* Company owed him a certain summe of money. In the end of this Bill he writ these words: *Firmed by the Firme of mee* Gabriel Towerson, *now appointed to dye, guiltlesse of any thing that can be justly laid to my charge. God forgive them their guilt, and receive mee to his mercie, Amen.* This Bill being brought to M. *Welden*, the *English* Agent at *Banda*, he paid the money, and received in the acknowledgement.

William Grigs (who had before accused Captaine *Towerson*) writ these words following in his Table-booke: *wee, whose names are here specified*, Iohn Beomont, *Merchant of* Loho, William Grigs, *Merchant of* Larica, Abel Price, *Chirurgion of* Amboyna, Robert Browne, *Tailor, which doe heere lye prisoners in the Ship* Rotterdam, *being apprehended for conspiracie, for blowing up the Castle of* Amboyna: *wee beeing judged to death this fifth of March*, Anno 1622. *which wee through torment was constrained to speake, that which we never meant, nor once imagined; the which wee take upon our deaths and salvation; they tortured us with that*

extreme

extreme torment of fire and water, that flesh and blood could not endure: and this we take upon our deaths, that they have put us to death guiltlesse of our accusation. So therefore we desire they that shall understand this; that our imployers may understand these wrongs, and that your selves would have a care to looke to your selves: for their intent was to have brought you in also: they askt concerning you; which if they had tortured us, wee must have confessed you also. And so farewell; written in the darke.

This Table-book was afterwards delivered to Mr. Welden aforenamed, by one that served the Dutch.

Samuel Colson also, another that accused Captaine Towerson, writ as followeth, in the waste leaves of a booke, wherein were bound together, the Common Prayers, the Psalmes, and the Catechisme.

In one page thus:

March 5. *Stilo novo*, being Sunday, aboord the Rotterdam, lying in irons.

VNderstand that I Samuel Colson, late Factor of Hitto, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracie; and for any thing I know, must dye for it: wherefore, having no better meanes to make my innocencie knowne; have writ this in this booke, hoping some good Englishman will see it. I doe here upon my salvation, as I hope by His death and passion to have redemption for my sinnes, that I am cleere of all such conspiracie; neither do I know any Englishman guilty thereof, nor other creature in the world. As this is true, God blesse me.

Samuel Colson.

On the other side, upon the first page of the Catechisme, is thus written:

IN another leafe you shall understand more, which I have written in this booke. Samuel Colson.

In the beginning of the Pſalmes, and in the leaſe ſo referred unto, is thus written, *viz.*

THE Iapons *were taken with ſome villany, and brought to examination: being moſt tyrannouſly tortur'd, were asked if the Engliſh had any hand in their plot. Which torture made them ſay, Yea. Then was M.* Tomſon, *M.* Iohnſon, *M.* Collins, Ioh. Clark *brought to examination, and were burned under the armes, armepits, the hands, and ſoles of the feet, with another moſt miſerable torment to drinke water; ſome of them almoſt tortured to death, and were forced to confeſſe that which they never knew, by reaſon of the torment which fleſh and blood is not able to endure. Then were the reſt of the Engliſhmen called one by one (amongſt which I was one) being wiſhed to confeſſe, or elſe I muſt goe to torment; withall cauſed M.* Iohnſon, *who was before tormented, to witneſſe againſt me, or elſe he ſhould be tormented again; which rather than hee would endure, he ſaid, what they would have, he would ſpeake. Then muſt I confeſſe that I never knew, or elſe to goe to torment; which rather than I would ſuffer, I did confeſſe that, which (as I ſhall be ſaved before God Almighty) is not true; being forced for feare of torment. Then did they make us witneſſe againſt Captaine* Towerſon, *and at laſt made Captaine* Towerſon *confeſſe: all being for feare of moſt cruell torment; for which we muſt all dye. As I meane and hope to have pardon for my ſinnes, I know no more than the childe unborne of this buſineſſe. Written with my owne hand the* 5. *of March, ſtilo novo.*

Samuel Colſon.

Yet in another page were theſe words:

I will

I was borne in New-castle *upon Tine; where I desire this booke may come, that my friends may know of my innocency.*

Samuel Colson.

This Booke hee delivered to one that served the Hollanders; who sowed it up in his Bed, and afterward, at his opportunity, delivered it to M. *Welden* before-named.

All these said Writings are yet extant under the hands of the severall parties, well knowne to their friends here in *England*.

The six and twentith of February, *stilo veteri*, the prisoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Castle (except Captain *Towerson* and *Emanuel Tomson*) to be prepared for death by the Ministers. The *Iapons* now all in generall, as some of them had done before in particular, cryed out to the English, saying; O you Englishmen, where did we ever in our lives eat with you, talk with you, or (to our remembrance) see you? The English answered, Why then have you accused us? The poore men, perceiving they were made beleeve each had accused others, before they had so done indeed; shewed them their tortured bodies, and said, If a stone were thus burnt, would it not change his nature? how much more we that are flesh and blood!

Whilst they were all in the Hall, Captaine *Towerson* was brought up into the place of examination, and two great jarrs of water carried after him. What he there did or suffered, was unknowne to the English without: but it seemeth, they made him then to under-write his confession. After supper, *Iohn Powle*,

Ephraim Ramsey, *Thomas Ladbrooke*, and *John Saddler*, who were found not-guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another roome. By and by also were *Samuel Colson* & *Edward Collins* brought from the rest, into the roome where *Emanuel Tomson* lay. The Fiscall told them, it was the Governours mercy, to save one of them three: and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleasure they should draw lots for it. Which they did, and the free lot fell to *Edward Collins*; who then was carried away to the Chamber, where *John Powle* and the rest that were quit, lodged: and *Samuel Colson* backe into the Hall. Anon also *John Beemont* was brought out of the Hall, into the chamber where *John Powle* and the rest of the acquitted persons were, and was told, that he was beholding to *Peter Johnson* the *Dutch* Merchant of *Lobo*, and to the Secretarie; for they two had begged his life.

So then there remained in the Hall ten of the *English*; for Captain *Towerson* and *Emanuel Tomson* (as is said before) were kept in severall roomes apart from the rest. To these that remained in the Hall, came the *Dutch* Ministers, who telling them how short a time they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to make their true confessions: for it was a dangerous and desperate thing to dissemble at such a time. The *English* still professed their innocency, and prayed the Ministers, that they might all receive the Sacrament, as a seale of the forgivenesse of their sinnes; and withall, thereby to confirme their last profession of their innocencie. But this would by no meanes be granted. Whereupon *Samuel Colson* said thus unto the Ministers; You manifest unto us the danger

of

of dissimulation in this case. But tell us; if we suffer guiltlesse, being otherwise also true beleevers in Christ Iesus, What shall be our reward? The Preacher answered, By how much the cleerer you are, so much the more glorious shall bee your resurrection. With that word, *Colsō* started up, imbraced the preacher, and gave him his purse, with such money as he had in it, saying; *Domine*, God blesse you: Tell the Governour, I freely forgive him; and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of this bloody tragedy, wrought upon us poore innocent soules. Here all the rest of the *English* signified their consent to this speech. Then spake *Iohn Farde* to the rest in presence of the Ministers, as followeth: My Countrey-men and brethren, that are here with me condemned to dye, I charge you all, as you will answer it at Gods Iudgement seat, if any of you be guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confesse the truth for satisfaction of the world. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake with a loud voice, saying, According to my innocency in this Treason, so LORD pardon all my sinnes: and if I bee guilty thereof more or lesse, let mee never be partaker of thy heavenly Joyes. At which words, every one of the rest cryed out, Amen for me, Amen for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accused, went one to another, begging forgiveneſſe for their false accusation, being wrung from them by the paines or feare of torture. And they all freely forgave one another: for none had beene so falsely accused, but he himselfe had accused another as falsely. In particular, *George Sharpe* (who survived to relate this nights passage) kneeled

led down to *Iohn Clark*, whom he had accuſed of the tale at *Hitto* above mentioned, and craved forgiveneſſe at his hands. *Clark* freely forgave him, ſaying, How ſhould I look to be forgiven of God, if I ſhould not forgive you, having my ſelfe ſo falſely accuſed Captain *Towerſon* and others.

After this, they ſpent the reſt of the dolefull night in Prayer, ſinging of Pſalmes, and comforting one another; though the Dutch that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drinke *Luſticke*, and drive away their ſorrow; according to the cuſtome of their owne Nation in the like caſe, but contrary to the nature of the Engliſh.

Vpon the morrow-morning, being the execution-day, the 27. of February, *ſtilo veteri*, *Iohn Powle* being freed (as is above recited) came into the room where the condemned perſons were, and found them at prayer. They all requeſted him to relate unto their friends in England the innocency of their cauſe; taking it upon their deaths, that what they had confeſſed againſt themſelves and others, touching this crime, was all falſe, and forced by feare of torture.

The ſame morning, *William Webber* was called again into the Fiſcals room, and there preſſed to produce the letter, which hee had before confeſſed to have received from *Iohn Clark*, in the *Poſtſcript* whereof ſome great buſineſſe was intimated. They promiſed him his life, if he would deliver or produce them that Letter: which although he did not, nor indeed could, yet at laſt they pardoned him, and ſent him to the reſt that were ſaved, and *Sharrock* with him.

That morning, *Emanuel Tomſon*, underſtanding that *Iohn Beomont* was pardoned, made means to have

him

him come, and ſpeake with him; which, with much a doe hee obtained. *Beomont* found him ſitting in a chamber, all alone, in a moſt miſerable faſhion; the wounds of his torture bound vp, but the matter and gore-blood iſſuing thorow the Rollers. Hee tooke M. *Beomont* by the hand, and prayed him, when hee came into England, to doe his duetie to the honourable Companie his Maſters, to M. *Robinſon*, and to his brother *Billingſley*, and to certifie them of his innocencie, which (ſaid hee) you your ſelfe know well enough.

All things being prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall, a-long by the chamber where the quit and pardoned were; who ſtood in the dore, to giue and take the farewell of their countrey-men now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpoſe, they prayed and charged thoſe that were ſaued, to bear witneſſe to their friends in England of their innocency, and that they died not traitors, but ſo many Innocents meerly murdered by the Hollanders; whom they prayed God to forgiue their blood-thirſtineſſe, and to haue mercy vpon their owne ſoules.

Beeing brought into the Yard, their Sentence was there read vnto them from a Gallery: and then they were thence caried vnto the place of execution, together with nine Iapons, and a Portugall; not the ordinary and ſhort way, but round about, in a long Proceſſion, thorow the Towne: the way guarded with fiue Companies of Souldiers, Dutch, & Amboyners, and thronged with the Natiues of the Iſland, that (vpon the Summons giuen the day before by the ſound of the Drum) flocked together to behold this

triumph of the Dutch ouer the English. *Samuel Colſon* had conceiued a prayer in writing, in the end whereof he proteſted his innocencie: which prayer hee read to his fellows the night before, and now alſo at the place of execution deuoutely pronounced the ſame; then threw away the paper: which the Gouernor cauſed to bee brought vnto him, and kept it.

Emanuel Tomſon told the reſt, he did not doubt but God would ſhew ſome ſigne of their innocencie; and euery one of the reſt tooke it ſeuerally vpon their death, that they were vtterly guiltleſſe: and ſo, one by one, with great cheerfulneſſe, they ſuffred the fatall ſtroke.

The Portugall praied ouer his Beads very deuoutly, and often kiſſed the Croſſe; ſwearing thereupon, that he was vtterly innocent of this treaſon; yet confeſſed, that God had juſtly brought this puniſhment vpon him, for that, hauing a wife in his owne Countrey, he had, by the perſwaſion of the Dutch Gouernor, taken another in that Countrey, his firſt being yet liuing.

The Iapons likewiſe (according to their Religion) ſhut vp their laſt Act with the like profeſſion of their innocencie. So there ſuffered ten Engliſhmen, viz. Captaine *Gabriel Towerſon*, the Agent of the Engliſh at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Colſon*, Factor at Hitto; *Emanuel Tomſon*, Aſſiſtant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnſon*, Aſſiſtant there alſo; *Iohn Wetherall*, Factor at Cambello; *Iohn Clarke*, Aſſiſtant at Hitto; *William Grigges*, Factor at Larica; *Iohn Fardo*, Steward of the houſe; *Abel Price*, Chirurgion; and *Robert Browne* Tailor.

The

The Portugall alſo ſuffered with them. His name was *Auguſtine Perez.* He was borne at Bengala.

The names of the Iaponeſes that ſuffered (if any be curious to know them) were as followeth:

Hitieſo, *Tſioſa*, *Sinſa.* } all borne at Firando.

Stamey Migiel, *Pedro Congie*, *Thome Corea.* } borne at Nangaſacque.

Quiondajo natiue of Coraets.

Tſabinda of Tſoucketgo.

Zanchoe of Fiſien.

Beſides theſe, there were two other Iaponeſes; the one named *Soyſimo*, borne at Firando; and the other *Sacombe*, of the ſame place: the former of which being tortured, confeſſed both to haue beene priuie to this pretended treaſon, and to haue offered his ſeruice vnto the Engliſh, to ayde them in taking of the Caſtle and the latter confeſſed to haue had knowledge of the conſultation of the other Iapons to this purpoſe. But neyther of them was executed, nor ſo much as condemned. The reaſon whereof was not knowne to the Engliſh that were ſaued.

They had prepared a cloth of blacke Veluet for Captaine *Towerſons* body to fall vpon; which being ſtayned and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the Engliſh Companie.

At the inſtant of the execution, there aroſe a great darkeneſſe, with a ſudden and violent guſt of winde and tempeſt; whereby two of the Dutch

Shippes, riding in the harbour, were driuen from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty ſaued from the rockes. Within a few dayes after, one *William Dunckin*, who had told the Gouernour, That *Robert Browne*, the Engliſh Tailour, had a few moneths before told him, hee hoped, that within ſixe moneths the Engliſh ſhould haue as much to doe in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, as the Dutch: This fellow, comming vpon an euening to the graue where the Engliſh were buried, beeing all (ſaue Captain *Towerſon*) in one pit, fell downe vpon the graue; and hauing lien there awhile, roſe vp againe ſtarke mad, and ſo continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Forthwith alſo fell a new ſickneſſe at *Amboyna*, which ſwept away about a thouſand people, Dutch and Amboyners: in the ſpace, wherein there vſually died not aboue thirty at other ſeaſons. Theſe ſignes were by the ſuruiuing Engliſh referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomſon* aboue named, and were by the Amboyners interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Hollanders.

The next day after the execution, beeing the eight and twentith of February, *Stilo veteri*, was ſpent in triumph for the new Generall of the Dutch then proclaimed, and in publicke reioycing for the deliuerance from this pretended treaſon. The day following, being the firſt of March, *Iohn Beomont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Gouernor; who told *Webber*, *Beomont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in honour of the new

Generall

Generall; and *Collins*, that he was to go to Iaccatra, there to ſtand to the fauour of the Generall. So the Gouernor made them drink wine with him, and curteouſly diſmiſſed them; willing them to go and conſult with the reſt that were ſaued, who were fit to bee placed in the ſeuerall Factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the Gouernor, hee accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take vpon him the patronage and gouernment of the Engliſh Companies buſineſſe. To which purpoſe, he had within a few daies paſt opened a Letter that came from the Engliſh Preſident at Iaccatra, directed to Captaine *Towerſon*; beeing (as hee ſaid) the firſt Engliſh Letter that euer he intercepted; further ſaying, that he was glad that he found by that Letter, that the Engliſh at Iaccatra were innocent touching this buſineſſe.

The Gouernor and Fiſcall hauing thus made an end at *Amboyna*, diſpatched themſelues for Banda: where they made very diligent enquiry againſt Captaine *Welden*, the Engliſh Agent there, yet found no colour nor ſhadow of guilt to lay hold on; but at laſt entertained him with courteous ſpeeches, profeſſing to bee very glad, that they found him, as well as the Engliſh at Iaccatra, to bee without ſuſpicion of this treaſon (as they tearme it). Captaine *Welden*, perceiuing the diſorder and confuſion of the Engliſh Companies affaires at *Amboyna*, by meanes of this dealing of the Dutch; forthwith hired a Dutch Pinace at Banda, and paſſed to *Amboyna*: where, inſtantly vpon his arruall, he re-called the Companies ſeruants, ſent (as before) by the Dutch Gouernor to the vnder-Factories.

Hauing enquir d of them, & the reſt that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole proceeding lately paſſed, hee found, by the conſtant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no ſuch treaſon of the Engliſh as was pretended: as alſo hee vnderſtood, what ſtrict command the Gouernor had giuen to the ſurniuing Engliſh, not once to talke or conferre with the Countrey-people concerning this bloody buſineſſe, although the ſaid Country-people euery day reproched them with treaſon, and a bloody intention to haue maſſacred the natiues, and to haue ripped vp the bellies of women with childe, and ſuch like ſtuffe; wherewith the Dutch haue poſſeſſed the poore Vulgar, to make the Engliſh odious vnto them. The ſaid M. *Welden* therfore finding it to ſort neither with the honour nor profit of the Engliſh Company, his Maſters, to hold any longer reſidence in *Amboyna*, hee tooke this poore remnant of the Engliſh a-long with him, in the ſaid hired Pinace, for Iaccatra; whither the Gouernor had ſent *Iohn Beomont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercy of the Generall.

When this heauy newes of *Amboyna* came to Iaccatra and the Engliſh there, the Preſident forthwith ſent to the Generall of the Dutch, to know by what authority the Gouernor at *Amboyna* had thus proceeded againſt the Engliſh, and how he, & the reſt of the Dutch there at Iaccatra, did approoue theſe proceedings. The Generall returned for anſwer, that, The Gouernor of *Amboyna's* authority was deriued from that of the Lords States Generall of the Vnited Netherlands; vnder whom hee had lawfull juriſdiction both in criminall and ciuill cauſes, within the diſtrict

of

of *Amboyna*. Further, that ſuch proceeding was neceſſary againſt traitors ſuch as the Engliſh, executed at *Amboyna*, might appeare to be by their owne confeſſions: a copy whereof hee therewith ſent to the Engliſh Preſident; who ſent the ſame backe to be authentickly certified, but receiued it not againe.

Hitherto hath beene recited the bare & naked narration of the progreſſe and paſſage of this action, as it is taken out of the depoſitions of ſix ſeuerall Engliſh Factors: whereof foure were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Proceſſe of *Amboyna*; all, ſince their returne into England, examined vpon their othes in the Admiralty Court. The particular of Captaine *Towerſon's*, as alſo of *Emanuel Tomſon's* examinations and anſwers, are not yet come to light, by reaſon that theſe two were kept apart from all the reſt, and each alone by himſelfe; nor any other of the Engliſh ſuffered to come and ſpeake, with them, except onely that ſhort Farewell which *Iohn Beomont* tooke of *Tomſon* the morning before the execution aforementioned. The like obſcurity is yet touching the examinations and anſwers of diuerſe of the reſt that were executed; being, during their impriſonment, ſo ſtrictly lookt-to and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talke together, nor mutually relate their miſeries.

But becauſe the Hollanders defend their own proceedings by the confeſſions of the parties executed, acknowledging ſeuerally vnder their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiſſe to recollect and recall vnto this place, as it were vnto one ſumme and totall, certain circumſtances diſperſed in ſeverall parts of this narration; whereby as well

well the innocencie of the Englisſh, as the vnlawfull proceedings against them be manifeſted.

Firſt therefore it is to be remembred, that the Iapons were apprehended, examined, and tortured three or foure dayes, before the Engliſh were attached; and the fame aſwell of their apprehenſion, as torture, was rife and notorious in the Towne of *Amboyna*, and the parts adjoyning. *Tomſom* in this *interim*, and the very firſt day of the examination of the Iapons, went to the Caſtle to aske leaue of the Gouernor to land ſome Rice, and brought backe the newes with him to the Engliſh houſe, of the cruell handling of theſe poore Iapons. This had been *Item* enough to the Engliſh, if they had been guilty, to ſhift for themſelues: whereto alſo they had ready means by the Curricurries or ſmall Boats of the *Amboyners*, which lie along the Strand in great number, wherewith they might eaſily haue tranſported themſelues to Seran, to Bortoon, or to Maccaſſar, out of the reach and juriſdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not in this caſe, it is a very ſtrong preſumption, that they were as little priuie to any treaſon of their owne, as ſuſpicious of any treacherous traine laid for their bloods.

In the next place let it be conſidered, how impoſſible it was for the Engliſh to atchieue this pretended enterpriſe.

The Caſtle of *Amboyna* is of a very great ſtrength (as is before declared); the Garriſon therein two or three hundred men, beſides as many moe of their free Burgers in the Towne. What their care and circumſpection in all their Forts is, may appeare not only by the quick Alarum they now tooke at the fooliſh queſtion of the poore Iapon, made to the Sentinell a-

boue

boue-receiued; but alſo by that which a little before hapned at Iaccatra, where one of their ſouldiers was ſhot to death for ſleeping in the Watch.

Durſt ten Engliſhmen (whereof not one a ſouldier) attempt any thing vpon ſuch a ſtrength & vigilancy? As for the aſſiſtance of the Iapons, they were but ten neither, and all vnarmed aſwell as the Engliſh. For, as at the ſeizure of the Engliſh houſe, all the prouiſion therein found was but three ſwords, two muskets, and halfe a pound of powder: ſo the Iapons (except when they are in ſeruice of the Caſtle, and there armed by the Dutch) are allowed to haue no Armes, but onely a Catanne, a kinde of ſhort ſword: and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, vpon great penalty, to ſell any hand-gun, powder or bullets, to the Iapons or *Amboyners*. But let it be imagined that theſe twentie perſons, Engliſh and Iapons, were ſo deſperate as to aduenture the exploit; how ſhould they be able to maſter the Dutch in the Caſtle, or to keepe poſſeſſion when they had gotten it? what Seconds had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinace of the Engliſh in the harbour. All the reſt of the Iapons in the Iſland, were not twentie perſons, and not one Engliſh more. The neereſt of the reſt of the Engliſh, were at Banda, forty leagues from *Amboyna*; and thoſe but nine perſons, all afterwards cleered by the Gouernor and Fiſcall themſelues from all ſuſpicion of this pretended crime; as were alſo the reſt of the Engliſh at Iaccatra.

On the other ſide, beſides the ſtrength of the Caſtle and Towne of *Amboyna*, the Hollanders haue three other ſtrong Caſtles, well furniſhed with Souldiers, in the ſame Iſland, and at Combello neere adioyning. They had then alſo in the road of *Amboy-*

n eight Ships and veſſels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200. tun, the *Vnicorne* of 300. tun, the Free-mans veſſell of 100. tun, the *Calck* of 60. tun, Captaine *Gamals Iunck* of 40. the *Flute* of 300. tun, the *Amſterdam* of 1400. tun, and a ſmall Pinace of about 60. tun; and all theſe well furniſhed with men and munition. It is true, that the Stories doe record ſundry valiant and hardy enterpriſes of the Engliſh Nation, and Holland is witneſſe of ſome of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the Engliſh reſolution; yet no Story, nor Legend ſcarcely reporteth any ſuch hardineſſe eyther of the Engliſh or others, That ſo few perſons, ſo naked of all prouiſions and ſupplyes, ſhould vndertake ſuch an aduenture vpon a counterpartie, ſo well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might poſſibly haue ouercome all theſe difficulties; yet to what end and purpoſe ſhould they put themſelues into ſuch a ieopardie? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, That the Forts in the Indies ſhould remaine reſpectiuely in the hands of ſuch as had poſſeſſion of them at the date of the Treatie, *Anno* 1619. and that the ſame was ratified by the Kings Maieſtie, and the Lords States Generall. They knew likewiſe, and all the world takes knowledge, of his Maieſties religious obſeruation of peace and treatie with all his neighbours, yea, with all the world: what reward then could theſe Engliſh hope for, of this their valour and danger? Certainely none other than that which is expreſly prouided by the Treatie it ſelfe, that is, To be puniſhed as the diſturbers of the common peace and amitie of both Nations.

But

But let theſe Engliſh-men haue beene as fooliſh in this plot as the Hollanders will haue them; is it alſo to be imagined, that they were ſo graceleſſe, as when they were condemned, and ſeriouſly admoniſhed by the Miniſters to diſcharge their conſciences, yet then to perſiſt in their diſſimulation, being otherwiſe of ſuch godly behauiour, as to ſpend the time in Prayer; ſinging of Pſalmes, and ſpirituall comforting one another, which the Dutch would haue had them beſtow in drinking, to driue away their ſorrow? Let *Colſons* queſtion to the Miniſter be conſidered: his and the reſts offer and deſire to receiue the Sacrament in witnes of their innocencie; their mutuall asking forgiuenes for their like falſe accuſations of one another, forced by the torture; *Tomſons* laſt farewell to *Beomont*; *Colſons* prayer, and his writing in his prayer booke; *Bardo's* farewell to *Powle*; alſo his coniuring exhortation to his fellowes, to diſcharge their conſciences, and all their anſwers thereunto, craying Gods mercie or iudgement, according to their innocencie in this cauſe; their generall and religious profeſſion of their innocencie, to their countrey men, at their laſt parting with them; and finally, the ſealing of this profeſſion with their laſt breath and blood, euen in the very article of death, and in the ſtroke of the Executioner. What horrible and vnexampled diſſimulation were this? If ſome one or more of them had beene ſo fearefully deſperate, yet would not there one amongſt ten be found to thinke of the iudgement to come; whereunto he was then inſtantly ſummoned without Eſſoine, Baile, or Mainpriſe? What? had they hope of reprieue and life, if they kept their countenance to the laſt? Yet what hope had *Tomſon* and

the reſt, when Captaine *Towerſons* head was off? Nay, what deſire had *Tomſon* and *Clarke* to liue, being ſo mangled and martyred by the torture? They were executed one by one, and euery one ſeuerally tooke it vpon his death, that he was guiltleſſe.

Now to blanch and ſmooth ouer all this rough and barbarous proceeding; it is here giuen out, that the Gouernor & Fiſcall found ſuch euidence of the plot, and dealt ſo cuenly in the proceſſe, that they ſpared not their owne people; hauing vſed ſome of their natiue Hollanders, partakers of this treaſon, in the ſame manner as they did the Engliſh. But this, as well by the relation here truely and faithfully ſet downe, grounded vpon the ſworn teſtimonie of ſixe credible witneſſes, as alſo by other ſufficient reports of diuerſe (lately come out of thoſe parts) appeareth to bee a meere tale, not once alleaged by any in the Indies in many moneths after the execution, but only inuented and diſperſed here, for a *Fucus* and falſe colour vpon the whole cauſe, and to make the world beleeue that the ground of this barbarous and tyrannous proceeding was a true crime and not the vnſatiable couetouſneſſe of the Hollanders, by this cruell treacherie to gaine the ſole Trade of the *Molluccos*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*; which is already become the euent of this bloody proceſſe.

To adde hereunto by way of aggrauation, will bee needleſſe; the fact is ſo full of odious and barbarous inhumanitie, executed by Hollanders vpon the Engliſh Nation, in a place where both liued vnder termes of partnerſhip and great amitie, confirmed by a moſt ſolemne Treatie.

FINIS.

A TRVE
DECLARATION OF
the News that came out of the East-Indies, *with the Pinace called the* HARE, which arriued in TEXEL, in Iune 1624.

CONCERNING

A Conſpiracy diſcouered in the Iland of *Amboyna*, and the puniſhment following thereupon, according to the courſe of juſtice, in *March* 1624. comprehended in a Letter miſſiue;

AND SENT

From a friend in the Low-Countries, to a friend of note in England, for information of him in the truth of thoſe paſſages.

Printed, *Anno* 1624.

Right worſhipfull and worthy Sir,

THe great outcryes which haue beene made in England, upon the laſt newes which came out of the Eaſt-Indies, about a certaine execution which was done in the Iland of Amboyna, in March, 1623. becauſe we ſee the great deſire that your Worſhip hath, to keepe good correſpondence betwixt theſe two Nations, it hath cauſed me (beyond my owne curioſity) to ſearch & inquire after the right & true beginning, proceedings, & iſſues of theſe affaires, upon which this execution followed. Wherein, I perſwade my ſelfe, I haue attained good ſucceſſe, by ſuch meanes as I haue vſed, and by my good acquaintance, ſo that (at the laſt) I am come to the cleare light of the matter: partly by the letters that haue beene ſent home, to the Company here, and declared to the States Generall, as alſo by a particular examination of the proceſſe made againſt them in Amboyna, before their execution, and ſent ouer hither, in writing, which at this preſent hath cauſed mee to write this vnto your Worſhip, that ſo, the truth may bee made knowne concerning this buſines in all places, where your Worthynes, and reſpect, can, or may bring it to paſſe; that ſo your Worſhip, and all true willers (of our Country,) may be no otherwiſe thought of than we deſerue.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THe very cauſes and beginnings through which, the *Gouernour*, and *Councell*, eſtabliſhed in the name of the Vnited *Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, came into ſuſpicion, that ſome thing was plotted againſt that Prouince; did firſt flow from the great licentiouſnes of the *Ternatanes* in *Moluque*, and *Amboyna*: Who, contrary to the contract of alliance, 1606. made with the High and Mighty Lords the States, attempted (without our conſent, and knowledge) to make peace with the King of *Tedore*; as alſo truce with the *Spaniards*, (their and our ancient aduerſaries) by which, the ſaid *Ternatanes* had too much caſt off all reſpect which they, both in regard of our confederacy, and manifold aſſiſtance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* alſo was maſter enough at ſea, in the *Moluque*, becauſe the *Engliſh Marchants* there, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, were vnwilling to furniſh vs with ſhips of warre, toward the common defence; as they were bound to doe, according to the treaties 1619. to the number often. Through which, the voyages to *Manillia*, comming to ceaſe, the enemy traded there without any interruption, & procured power to ſend *Gallyes, Ships, and Pynaſſes* to the *Moluque*, with great ſuccours of people, and prouiſion; and that becauſe, againſt the ſame (through the defaule of the *Engliſh* Merchants) there were no Ships of warre kept, as there ſhould haue beene.

A

B

C

The ſubjects of the King of *Ternata*, begun to commit great inſolencies (otherwiſe than they were

D

were wont) against our Nation, hauing outrageouſly aſſaulted diuers of vs, diuers wayes, and alſo ſlayne ſome, and wee notwithſtanding could not obtaine any puniſhment vpon them. And as one outrage (vnpuniſhed) prouokes many moe, through hope of the like impunity, or other conſiderations; ſo likewiſe the ſayd *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Loho*, *Cambello*, and thoſe neere adioyning places, proceeded further, and haue armed themſelues at Sea, and inuaded diuers Ilands, and places ſtanding vnder the *Netherlands Gouernour* in *Amboyna*, ſpoyling them, and killing our ſubiects, and taking others, and carrying them away for ſlaues. And notwithſtanding the inſtant requeſt of the *Netherlands Gouernour*, no ſatisfaction, or iuſtice, hath followed; but the ſaid *Ternatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatned to murder the *Dutch Marchants*, and to ſpoyle and burne the *Logie*, or *Factory*, which our people haue many yeares there enioyed: ſo that our Merchants haue taken out the *Dutch* goods, to auoid damage: And the *Ternatanes* at *Loho* did actually ſet on fire, and ruined the ſaid *Netherlands Factory*. In the *Manichells* (an Iland being vnder the Prouince of *Amboyna*) they haue in like manner, ſhortly after, burned the *Netherlands Logie*, with the loſſe of all the goods therein. The *Netherlands Gouernour*, that by his preſence, and authority, hee might cauſe ſuch rebellions to ceaſe, and to giue order for time to come, and alſo to ſeeke ſatisfaction and puniſhment vpon the foreſaid inſolencies; went toward *Loho*, with a ſmall power of ſloopes: and comming there-about,

was

was mett (otherwiſe than was wont) by a nauy of ſloopes of the *Ternatanes* of *Loho*, ſtronger than his were. Theſe (by their conference) gaue him well to know, how little reuerence they gaue the *Dutch Gouernor*: they braued him, without hope of reſtitution of any thing to come: ſo that (nothing done) he was faine to returne to his Caſtle of *Amboyna*. By reaſon of theſe things, the ſayd *Ternatanes* became ſo ſtout and daring, that they gaue out openly, that they would come, and ſpoile our ſubiects by a generall army, with aboue a 100. *Friggets*: with theſe, they ſaid they would come againſt *Amboyna*, to make a vniuerſall ſpoyle of our people; Through which, there came a great feare vpon the *Indians*, ſtanding vnder the ſubiection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as alſo ouer the *Neatherlanders*.

In the Ilands lying farre Eaſtward of *Banda*, it E
was alſo ſaid, and the newes went currantly there, That the *Hollanders* were ſure enough quit of the Caſtle of *Amboyna*; And at that time there were diuers ſecret correſpondencies betweene the *Indians*, and others, which gaue vs great ſuſpicion. By this meanes the *Netherlands Gouerners*, and Councell of *Amboyna*, were moued to haue ſpeciall regard, and looke narrowly vnto all things, ſeeing that it might bee thence clearly gathered, that ſomething might bee plotted againſt the State in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* (of themſelues) durſt not offer to vndertake any ſuch great deſigne, without ſome great helpe of ſome of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, F
Portugalls, or ſome others; and alſo they vnderſtood,

 that

G that they of *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great ſecret correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Merchants. When things were in ſuch a ſtate in *Amboyna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully diſcouered, in February 1623. a horrible conſpiracie, againſt the Caſtle, and Perſon of the *Dutch Gouernour*, and the whole ſtate of *Amboyna*: and firſt, by the apprehenſion of a certaine *Iaponian* (a complice of the feate) who at an vnſeaſonable time was often ſeene vpon the wall of the Caſtle, where he alſo ouer-curiouſly enquired of the moſt vnskilfull and ſillyeſt ſouldiers, touching, the ſetting, and change of the *Watch*, and what number of people might be in the Caſtle, and many other things. Whereupon, in the very act, the ſaid *Iaponian* was apprehended, and being examined of many circumſtances, he confeſſed, that the *Iaponian* ſouldiers, vnder our ſeruice, had decreed to make themſelues Maſters of the Caſtle, and that they ſhould haue ſet vpon this by the helpe of the *Engliſh*, who had ſollicited them vnto it; and that hee withall the other *Iaponians* in the *Engliſh* houſe, often times within three monethes before-going, had conferred with the *Engliſh*, whom hee there named, by their names) touching the manner, whereby they ſhould bring this treachery to paſſe. Hereupon it came to paſſe, that all the Iaponian ſouldiers which were in our ſeruice, were diſarmed, and impriſoned, and by examination of them all, it appeared playnly, by an orderly and ioynt-confeſſion, that all the ſaid Iaponians, vpon the intreaty of *Gabriel Towerſon*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants, and Officers, agreed to aſſiſt the ſaid Engliſh to betray the Caſtle, and to

giue

giue it ouer into the Engliſh Power; and that *Gabriel Towerſon*, and *Abel Price* (an Engliſh Chirurgion,) and other Engliſh, dealt often with them, (whom hee named by their names) of the way and meanes, how they ſhould worke it; the ſaid *Abel Price* being before impriſoned for a foule and execrable fact, and yet remayning in durance.

And although it appeared ſufficiently to the Gouernour, and Councel of *Amboyna*, out of the confeſſion of the Iaponians, what the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* with his Merchants, and other complices, had before reſolued to doe, and that the Councell had ſufficient information to impriſon them all; yet the *Generall Councell* would not precipitate, but commanded the ſaid *Abel Price*, (who was in priſon) to come before the Councell, and (after the places, perſons, and time nominated to him, where, and when hee had dealt with the Iaponians, and other Engliſh, about the ſaid treachery) it was alſo from him well vnderſtood, how hee (in the name, and by the command of *Gabriel Towerſon*) and another Iaponian, (who was then alſo in priſon) had perſwaded all the Iaponians to conſent to this villany, and that conſequently the ſaid *Towerſon*, as the *firſt Authour*, and all the other Engliſh Merchants, (being in the *Forraigne Cantore* of the Prouince of *Amboyna*) had alſo knowledge of the ſaid treachery.

Vpon this full and vniforme examination, and confeſſion of 12 perſons, as well of the 11. Iaponians, as one Engliſh, is the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* called to the Councell; and there appearing, the ſaid *Towerſon* called together all his people vnto the Caſtle, vpon

the request of the *Generall Councell*, who were there taken, and imprisoned, except the said *Gabriel Towerson* himselfe: to whom (vpon his request) and in regard of his quality, being chiefe merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the *English Company*; his owne house was allotted him for his safe keeping, and forth comming. And the said prisoners were all lawfully and orderly examined, and it appeared by them joyntly, according to their owne confession (euery one hauing vnder-written it with his owne hand) as followeth.

H *Gabriel Towerson*, about *New-yeares day*, 1623. hauing with him almost all the *English* Merchants of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he assembled them in his chamber, and propounded to them, that he had something of *great moment*, to impart vnto them, (which *he alone* could not effect) vnder the fidelity of an *oath* to bee taken *before*, for the keeping secret thereof, and being trusty therein; saying, It is necessary so to be; for if the thing should come abroad, which I shall make knowne vnto you, it will cost all our liues. Whereupon the holy *Gospel* was produced; vpon which, every one who was present, did sweare secrecy and fidelity, as was required. Then *Towerson* (after a *preface*) opened to the conspirators, how he had a way and meanes to make himselfe *Master* of the *Castle* of *Amboyna*. And whereas some present made it difficult to doe, being too weake for it: the said *Towerson* answered, That hee had already won to his purpose the *Iaponian* souldiers who were in the Castle, and that they should execute his purpose when the *Dutch*, who were in

the

the Caſtle, were in their greateſt weakeneſſe, and worſt prouided, or (*vnawares*) when the *Gouernour* ſhould bee abſent, about ſome exploit; and that they ſhould waite till ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, or ſhip, were in *Amboyna*, whoſe people hee might employ in this attempt; as alſo, when as all other the *Engliſh* Merchants, and ſlaues of, the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*. ſhould be ſent for to the Caſtle: And ſaid further, That hee knew how to get men enow, and they ſhould leaue this to his care, and themſelues do their beſt; and that they of *Loho* ſhould alſo come to helpe him with certaine *Curricurries*, *&c.* vpon which inducements, all that were preſent ſwore to aſſiſt *Towerſon* herein. And concerning the maner of execution, the ſaid *Towerſon* had preſcribed to the *Iaponians*, which were in the Caſtle, that they ſhould ſend to euery point of the Bulwarkes, two men, and the reſt in the Court attend the *Gouernour*, and to murder him; and that at the ſigne which ſhould be giuen by the *Engliſh*, they ſhould make themſelues *Maſters* of euery point of the Bulwarke, and kill all who ſhould reſiſt, and impriſon the reſt; and further ſhould take, and diuide betweene themſelues, and the *Iaponians*, the goods of the Dutch *Eaſt-India Company*, except a 1000. rialls of 8. which euery *Iaponian* ſhould haue before, and that they ſhould kill the citizens who would not conſent with them, and doe them all the miſchiefe they could. And touching the time, hee had not yet certainely ſet it, but that there ſhould ſuddenly bee another aſſembly of the conſpirators, when *Gabriel Towerſon* would giue order for all things, and giue a ſigne to the *Iaponians*,

ponians, whereupon, when they ſhewed it, they ſhould begin the worke within.

L The ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* being asked in particular, what moued him to ſuch a wicked fact; hee anſwered, The deſire of *Honour* and *Profit*. Being further demanded, who ſhould enioy that Honour and Profit, and for whom hee would haue taken the Caſtle: he anſwered, That if he did obtaine his deſire, hee ſhould preſently haue aduertiſed thoſe of his Nation being in *Batania*, and called for their helpe, who if they had ſent him ſuccour, hee would haue kept the Caſtle for his owne company (viz. for the *Engliſh Eaſt-Indian Company*) and if not, he would haue held it for himſelfe, and haue endeuoured a peace with the Indians, that ſo by the one meanes or the other, hee might attayne his purpoſe.

M After the examination of *Towerſon* was ended, the *Dutch Gouernour* in *Amboyna* vpbrayded *Towerſon* of his cruell intent, and asked, if this ſhould haue beene the recompence of the manifold honours, and kindneſſes hee had done vnto him. Whereto *Towerſon* anſwered with a deepe ſigh, *Oh*, if it were to be begun, it ſhould not be done. This voluntary confeſſion, and penitent acknowledgement, with much ſorrow, was made the 9. of March, being the day when the execution ſhould haue beene done; but the examination of *Towerſon* was ended the 18. of February, ſo many dayes before. This is the ſubſtance of the confeſſions of 10. Iaponians, of 14. Engliſh, and of a *Neatherlandiſh Merinho*, or *Captaine* of the *Slaues*; who all confirmed theſe their confeſſions with their owne hands.

What

What crime this intended prodition was, is hence very manifeſt, and vndoubted: what puniſhment is due to treachery, according to the law and cuſtomes of all nations, is alſo well knowne: no true Chriſtian man wil patronage any ſuch horrible attempt, but wil adiudge it worthy of death, as it was determined vpon the complices of this conſpiracy, according to order of juſtice, as there in *Amboyna* it is exerciſed (according to deſert) by the Gouernour and Councell, in the name of the *High* and *Mighty Lords*, the *States*.

Here you haue (Sir) the very ſubſtance of the truth, both of the fact and puniſhment; other than which, many things are ſpread abroad in England, but vpon what pretence, or intendement, I know not; let the matter it ſelfe ſpeake for it ſelfe.

The firſt point, which is obiected againſt this iuſtice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings; which are ſayd to be holden without formality, and with extreamity, againſt theſe conſpirators: Your Worſhip (and each reaſonable men) knoweth, that euery land hath their lawes, and ordinances, and their particular manner of proceeding, as well in Ciuill as in Criminall cauſes. *England* hath hers. *France*, *Spaine*, *Dutchland*, *Netherland*, and all other *Kingdomes* and *Gouernments* haue alſo theirs, which are iuſt and lawfull to euery one in their dominion; ſo that, when any man will iudge of the equity or iniuſtice of a proceeding vſed in any land, he muſt examine the ſame according to the lawes and cuſtomes of that Kingdome or dominion, where the iuſtice and proceedings were holden. Theſe proceedings *Obiect.* 1.

N

dings were holden by the *Netherlandish Gouernor*, in the name of the illustrious *Lords the States*, hauing supreame power, many yeares since in the *Yles* of *Amboyna*, which were conquered (in the name of the said *Lords* the *States*) from the *Spaniards*, or *Portugalls*, who held that Castle in the name of the King of *Spaine*, our hereditary enemy; therefore they are now possessed in the name of the *Lords* the *States*, and are vnder their dominion, by a iust and lawfull title of warre, according to the law of *Nations*. There (among other things) iustice is administred according to the lawes of the *Netherlands*, in that manner as was vsed in the proceedings against these conspirators. I know that the lawes of *England* are diuers from ours in *criminall* cases, yea, and from all the Nations in *Europe*: howbeit therefore, no man hath any ground of reason to say, that the proceedings of the *English Iudges* (holden in *England*) against delinquents, are not legitimate, though the said *English* proceedings doe vary in the manner from the proceedings of *France*, *Spaine* &c. where other customes are: for that is lawfull, which agreeth with the lawes of that land where the fact is committed. Now then the *Iaponian* souldiers, being in the seruice of the *Netherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are discouered to haue conspired against the Castle and the *Gouernment* there, vnder whose oath and pay they were; they were apprehended, and examined, and conuicted of the said conspiracy. This proceeding is lawfull, and toucheth no man, because the said *Iaponians* know no other *Master* than the *Netherlanders*, vnder whose oath, seruice, and pay they stand.

All

All theſe Iaponian conſpirators with the ſaid *Merincho*, a *Captaine* of the *Netherlands* Slaues, confeſſed with one mouth, that they were moued and induced to this conſpiracy, by the Engliſh Merchants reſident in *Amboyna*, whoſe names they named. Now, not onely the right of *Netherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole world requireth, that the authors, abettors and complices of murther and treaſon, ſhould bee puniſhed with death; whereto, according to the common lawes, as alſo the particular lawes of euery Kingdome or Deminion, the ſuſpected perſons firſt, and before all, ſhould bee impriſoned, not onely for preuenting the effect of their euill purpoſe, but that they might alſo receiue their deſerued puniſhment: which apprehenſions, could not (*in that place*) bee done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands Gouernour*, to whom it belongeth to take care, to ſee euery act concerning ſupreame power, to be there obſerued; & ſpecially (all other reaſons ceaſing) the higheſt *Engliſh Officers* there, could not apprehend theſe *Engliſh* conſpirators, becauſe all the chiefe of the *Engliſh* Merchants in *Amboyna* were themſelues of the conſpiracy, and complices of the fact, vpon which the apprehenſion was made. Therefore the apprehenſion of the *Engliſh* complices, muſt bee done by the *Dutch Gouernour*, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the cuſtome of all Nations of the world. And that theſe apprehenſions may be holden more lawfull, it appeareth out of the written proceſſe, that the ſaid *Engliſh* complices were not impriſoned upon the firſt ſuſpitions and groſſe euidences which

were had against them, but then at last, when all the *Iaponian* souldiers were taken, examined, and conuicted, and had discouered by the vniforme confession of all the 11. the names and sur-names of such *English* as had perswaded and hyred them to this fact; of which *English*, one (viz. *Abel Price*, Barber) was before apprehended (as an *Incendiary*) for burning and violence done vpon other houses, who also was first examined, and first confessed (as the orher 11. *Iaponians*) that he (by name, *Gabriel Towerson*) and other *English Marchants*, whom hee named by their names, had suborned the said *Iaponian* souldiers; and that all the *English Marchants* in the *Forraigne Cantores* in *Amboyna*, had knowledge of this conspiracy, &c. So that it may bee seene, out of that which went before, that the *Dutch Gouernour* dealt no otherwise in the apprehension, and examination of the *English*, than according to his place, and power, and that with great discretion, according to the lawes of these *Vnited Prouinces*.

Obi. 2. Q The second point which is abusiuely dispersed in *England*, against this execution, is, that it is said, that it did not appertaine to the *Netherlanders* in *Amboyna* to imprison the said *English*, and to proceede against them, or to punish them; but that it did belong to the *Councell* of *defence* resident at *Iaquetra*, consisting halfe of *English*, and halfe of *Netherlands*, according to the treaty of the yeare 1619. made betweene his *Maiesty* and the *Lords* the *States*, betweene the two *East-India Companies*. That I might the better informe my selfe thereof, I tooke in hand, and perused the *generall* treaty of 1619. with the explication following thereupon;

vpon; but I profeſſe, that (as I thinke) euery vnderſtanding man, (not louing diſcord) muſt confeſſe, that neither in the ſayd treaty, nor in the enlargement, any one article or word could be perceiued, whereby (according to that which is vntruly ſayd in *England*) either this, or any ſuch thing is ordayned or decided, by the ſayd treaty; as it ought to haue clearely beene in ſo great and important a point, as this part of juriſdiction is. I appeale to all wiſe men, who I deſire may iudge of this, whether this ſpeech of ſome in *England* (to wit, that the ſayd Councell of defence ſhould (alone) haue iudged theſe Conſpirators) be agreeable to the ſaid treaty, or contrary to the ſame. I finde many arguments for my negatiue opinion, to wit, that before the treaty of 1619. the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* adminiſtred juriſdiction, and judicature, vpon all and euery one who dwelt in or vnder the juriſdiction of the Caſtle, as well inhabitants as ſtrangers, without difference; and that in this ſaid treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *Engliſh Marchants*, made onely a league in the matter of commerce and negotiation of *Nutmegs*, *Mace*, *Cloues*, and *Pepper*, in ſome quarters, without hauing any further treaty, or communication in the land; ſo that without the bounds of this common negotiation, euery one remained free, and vn-hyndered in the land, by the right and poſſeſſion which either Company enioyed and exerciſed ſeuerally; according as the ſame appeareth out of the 23. article of the treaty: where it is expreſſly ſayd; *That Caſtles and Forts ſhall remayne* in their hands who at preſent doe poſſeſſe them: And out of the 13. 14. 15. articles of the trea-

ty, all may see, that this common Councell of *Defence* hath no more power, saue onely ouer the fellowship of the treaty, that is, ouer the Nauy of defence in the Sea, to the defence of the common Merchandize, and liberty of commerce; and lastly, to taxe the charges for the prouision of munition in the Forts: neither can any other thing be sincerely collected out of the said treaty, so farre as I can conceiue. Therefore this second point is found to be vntrue and abusiue, being not founded vpon the said treaty, which treaty (notwithstanding) ought to bee the onely rule, both of the one and the other Company.

R Finally, it is giuen out in *England*, that in the examination of the Conspitarors there was excesse in the *Netherlands* Iudges, in the point of *Torture*. I acknowledge, that no argument or pretext against the iustice of this execution, hath more mooued mee in the beginning, than this pretence of excesse aforesaid, because this stirreth Christian compassion; although I also iudge, that wise men will not suffer themselues to be too much transported thereby, before the true reasons doe fully appeare, which should moue vs thereunto. For, I well remember yet, that in the time of former mistakings in the *Indyes*, many things were pretended on both parts, vpon which, there were greater outcries on either side, which yet, by due examination, were found to be (thought faine, yet) false pretexts of some ill-willers, and men desirous to wrangle: which pretences being throughly sifted by the High and much admired wisdome of his *Maiesty*, and the *Lords* the

States,

States, were well discouered to be no such matters as they were made: as it is also vndoubtedly to be beleeued, that his *Maiesty*, and the *States* will yet further doe in this affaire; and so the cause of the *Dutch* Company may be (in the carriage hereof) rightly iustified. Of which I vnderstand that the *Lords* the *States* haue speciall regard, and that they haue beene throughly informed, what is the very truth of the things there past, and of the execution in *Amboyna* vpon the *English* Conspirators. Vnto which end the *Lords* the *States* resolued to see and peruse all the papers and letters, touching the said proceedings: And now thereupon men speake farre otherwise than heretofore; for pretences and cauills (being once detected) cannot stand with truth. And it doth plainly appeare, that there is little truth in the matter of torture, reported to be most cruelly inflicted vpon these *English* Conspirators, as in *England* it is said. And I haue euer suspected this for a slander: for I know the *Dutch* Nation doth naturally abhorre this kinde of cruelty, and are as much mooued to commiseration, as any other people. But whether these euill minded men, who haue scattered this great slander in *England*, and haue so fowly defaced a iust cause, haue done it by occasion of our vse of tortures in these lands, in some weighty causes, according to the custome of the most dominions of *Europe*; I cannot iudge. But is that to bee censured and iudged to bee vniust of the whole world, which is repugnant to the lawes of *England*, (or any one Nation) where torture is rarely vsed? Nothing so; but the iustice or iniustice of a cause,

muſt bee (as aforeſaid) determined, according to the lawes where it is done, and not of other lands. If this were not ſo, why then ſhould not the whole world much more iudge that as a hard, and a thing vnheard, (and therefore condemnable) which in ſome caſes is vſed in *England*, according to the lawes there, when they proceed againſt ſome guilty perſon; who being once and againe asked of the Iudge, and vtterly refuſing to bee legally tried, is adiudged as dumbe, that is, by contumacy; whoſe condemnation then accordingly followeth, That hee is laid vpon a table, or planke, and another planke vpon him, and ſo much weight of ſtone or lead laid vpon him, that his body is miſerably bruiſed, and ſo preſſed violently to death. The which, according to the confeſſion of all nations, (eſpecially, becauſe this kinde of inſtice is not vſed in other lands) and by the *Engliſh* writers, is iudged to bee one of the moſt ſharpe and ſeuere kindes of death, that can be inuented; yet cannot ſuch an execution be called cruell and vnlawfull when it is done in *England*, becauſe it is done according to the lawes of that land, though ſtrangers ſhall iudge otherwiſe of it. And in like manner the *Engliſh* nation cannot complaine of the torture which euill willers ſay, was vſed vpon theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, becauſe it was done according to the lawes of this *Gouernment*, and is not vnuſuall in caſes of treaſon, neither with vs, nor (almoſt) any Nation in *Europe*: And for *England* it ſelfe, it is well knowne (and his moſt excellent *Maieſty* doth acknowledge by his owne *Princely* pen) that the *Rack*, and the *Manicles*, are

the

the onely tortures, that are exerciſed vpon *Traytors*, to force them to confeſſe, (*without concealement*) what they know to be dangerous to the *State*.

And to ſay the truth, without taking parts, the *Engliſh* Conſpirators being affronted with the vniforme and written confeſſions, of the 11. *Iaponians* (their Complices) which could conuince them ſufficiently, according to the lawes, and finde them guilty of the ſame conſpiracy, and conſequently of death: if now, notwithſtanding this, they had perſiſted in the ſtout denial of the fact, were not this (to ſpeake according to the manner in *England*) enough to iudge them dumbe by contumacy, and ſo to eſteeme them worthy of this ſore puniſhment of preſſing to death, as is aforeſaid? But this torture of ours (if any in *Amboyna* were ſo tortured) is to bee iudged farre leſſe than that preſſing, where the malefactor doth ſuffer ſuch extreame miſery as cannot bee imagined, and which is not to bee lenifyed or eaſed at all, but ended by death. But to the ſufficient ſatisfaction of my ſelfe, and your Worſhip, and all men, and not to ſpeake according to the ſentence, and conſcience of others; I haue vſed all diligence to get into my hands the written *proceſſe*, concerning the Conſpirators in *Amboyna*; which I obtained authentically, and read carefully: and I finde that all that is by mee aboue ſaid, is confirmed, to wit, That the *Iaponian* Complices were examined, and made their confeſſion as aforeſaid, for three dayes, viz. the 23. 24. 25. of February. 1623. and that all this being done, and conſummated before, then at laſt, is *Gabriel Towerſon*, firſt with the reſt of

the

the *English* Complices, impriſoned, the ſaid 25. of February, when their examination and confeſſion began, and continued diuers dayes without ouerhaſting, till the 3. of March. And the ſaid examinations and confeſſions being ſo finiſhed, the *Netherlands Gouernour*, and *Councell*, deliberated whether the puniſhment might bee deferred to any long time, or referred to any other place; but it was ſo concluded, by ioynt conſent of all, that the ſaid puniſhment (there deſerued) muſt bee executed in the ſame place, *for example*, and that it could not (In any wiſe) bee delaied without extreame danger, for reaſons there related; and among others, becauſe the *Ternatanes*, and *Indians* about *Amboyna*, had otherwiſe than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it bee fully knowne, what great confederacy theſe Conſpirators had made with them, and others. And touching any extraordinary and cruell torture, I haue accurately ouer-looked euery ones confeſſion, but I finde not one word in any one, which maketh any mention of ſuch torture, as is vniuſtly ſpoken of in *England*; nay, ſcarce finde any mention of that ordinary torture, which is in vſe, ſaue onely theſe words, in one act of the 25. of Feb. 1623. viz. *The Councell being gathered together, haue thought meete, that all the* Engliſh *ſhould be preſently examined one after another (as accordingly it was inſtantly done) and ſome of them*, before any torture; *others*, after a little (or rather a touch) of it, *confeſſed as followeth.* Vnto which, follo weth preſently the particular confeſſion of each one, ſubſcribed with his owne hand, as aforeſaid. So that hence it is manifeſt, that no extraordi-

traordinary torture was uſed, in ſuch manner as is given out there, by thoſe that wiſh us evill; nay, that thoſe *few* that felt any, were onely touched (not puniſhed) with ordinary torture.

And thus your *Worſhip* hath the upright and impartiall truth of this buſineſſe, touching the whole paſſage as it proceeded, and the puniſhment, as it was inflicted; from which, ſome *Engliſh* were exempted by favour, that the *Engliſh* goods ſhould not bee loſt, according as order hath beene given to that end: And I finde that the ſentence was given the 9. of March, 1623. by a competent aſſembly of 14. Iudges, who (as it appeareth in the ſentence) in the doing thereof, did (*before*) earneſtly call upon the name of the *Lord* that hee would pleaſe to be preſident and predominant in every one of their hearts, in this their *ſorrowfull aſſemby*; and that hee would inſpire them onely with that which might bee iudged to bee expedient and iuſt, &c. So that out of all that is above ſaid, nothing elſe can appeare, but that this buſineſſe was mannaged lawfully, and orderly, by men of honeſty and conſcience, againſt ſuch as had undertaken againſt the *State*, againſt the wealth and advantage of this *Eaſt-India Company*, the lives of their *Officers* there placed, againſt the eſtate and welfare of many, who had little deſerved, and as little expected, ſuch wickedneſſe from their friendly confederates in the ſame ſociety of *Merchants*, there reſident with them. S

And now (conſidering the premiſſes) I hope it ſhall bee farre from every *Chriſtian* in any wiſe to protect or excuſe this wicked fact, but rather to

mourne and grieve (as wee doe) for this conſpiracy, and for the evill the conſpirators have ſo *deſervedly* drawne upon their owne heads; and to honour them, who in iuſtice have pnniſhed villany, according to the due merit thereof: for wee all know, that without *IVSTICE*, without reward of that which is *Good*, and puniſhment of that which is *Evill*, no ſociety of mankinde can conſiſt.

And of this information (which I ſend in love, and honour, to your *Worſhip*, as unto *a lover of Truth*, and *a hater of Trechery*) you may make ſuch uſe, as to you ſhall ſeeme good, in any place where you come, both for refutation of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for *Prevention* of any further falſe rumors, or clamors; and finally, for *Propagation* of that undoubted truth, which *here* (to my beſt) I have endeavoured to diſcover. And if you ſhall meete with any thing of worth which can bee truely avowed, to bee contradictory unto any thing I have written, I deſire to underſtand it from you, and you to ſuſpend your *wiſe* and impartiall iudgement, till I have cleared it unto you. *TRVTH* remaineth ever the ſame. So I commend you to the *God of truth*, deſiring him to give us mindes, *Not to judge according to outward appearance, but to iudge with a righteous iudgement.*

7 DE 38

From my Lodging, July 23. 1624.

I

AN ANSVVER TO THE DVTCH RELATION, TOVCHING THE PRETENDED Conſpiracie of the ENGLISH at AMBOYNA *in the Indies.*

THE Compiler of this relation, perceiving that hee had an hard taske, to make it probable, that eighteene Engliſhmen, Merchants and their ſervants, all unarmed, ſhould, with the helpe and aſſiſtance of tenne Iapons, likewiſe unarmed, undertake the ſurpriſe of a Caſtle, ſo provided every way, as that of Amboyna, is before in the relation of the Engliſh truely deſcribed to bee: alſo the ſame Authour well weighing, that albeit all that hee was to write of this pretended Conſpiracie, ſhould be taken for true, yet the fact would ſeeme very poore, to beare ſo rigorous a puniſhment in perſons of that quality, and of that relation to thoſe that inflicted it; provides more skilfully than fairely, for both theſe points in the preamble of this relation: To this end, he takes and heapes together all the iealouſies and dangers that the Dutch had

had in the Indies, yea and more than they truely had at or about the time of the pretended conſpiracie, and applies them all to the ſuſpicion of this buſineſſe: as if all their enemies were likely to conſpire with the Engliſh; and therefore the fact, under colour wherof they were condemned and executed, were poſſible and probable; and as if the ſtate of the time had bin then ſo dangerous, that every ſhadow of conſpiracy was to bee exquiſitely enquired of, and the leaſt offence to bee ſeverely puniſhed. Wherefore although this bee no direct charge of the Engliſh, but uſed by the Author to ſupply the want of probabilities in the proceſſe it ſelfe, it will not be amiſſe to examine the ſeverall circumſtances, and how far they may yeeld any ſuſpicion againſt the ſaid Engliſh.

A Now this Author taketh the maine grounds of this ſuſpicion of ſome great plot againſt the Provice of Amboyna, from the unwonted boldneſſe and inſolencies of the Ternatans; firſt in the Moluccoes, and then in Amboyna. For thoſe in the Moluccoes he ſaith, they had lately before the pretended conſpiracy of the Engliſh, gone about, contrary to the Treatty, *Anno.* 1606. betweene them and the Dutch, to make peace with the King of Tedore, and truce with the Spaniard, without the conſent or knowledge of them, the Dutch: which how honeſtlly and conſcionably it is alleaged to this purpoſe, may appeare by the Iournalls of thoſe parts; which evidently ſhew, that this treaty betweene thoſe of Ternata and Tedore, was in November, 1621. that is to ſay, fifteene moneths before this forged conſpiracie, and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the Governour of the Dutch, who, upon

the 19 of November the yeare aforesaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the English in those parts, with the preparation of this Treaty, which was actually holden at Ternata the 24. of the same month. But the matter was so well handled by the Dutch, to keepe those neighbour Islands in perpetuall warre, that the Treatie was dissolved *re infectâ*, And the seventh of December following, an Edict was published by the King of Ternata, commanding all the Tedorians forthwith to depart the Island of Ternata, upon paine to bee made slaves. After this, the correspondence betweene the Dutch and Ternatans in the Moluccoes, returned into as firme state as ever; the Ternatans performing daily exploits against the Spaniards, and communicating the triumph with the Dutch: As the seventeenth of February 1622. being a full yeare before the feined treason of the English, the King of Ternata, with twenty Curricurries, tooke a Spanish Galley, slew forty in fight, and took 150. prisoners, whom they sold to the Dutch for Cloth and Rice: and comming by the Hollanders Castle of Maalaïo, the eighteenth of the same moneth, with the heads of divers Spaniards at his Stern, the Dutch saluted him from their said Castle with nine shot of great Ordnance. The 25. of Aprill following, the Admirall of the King of Ternata tooke a Prow of the Spaniards, slew some, and sold the rest to the Dutch. The 28. of the same moneth, both Dutch and English were feasted by the King of Ternata. The 22. of May next ensuing, the king of Ternata went forth to Machain with sixe Curricurries, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great Ordnance from the Dutch Castle. The 15. of

Iune, the Admirall of the King of Ternata made a voyage towards mindanow, carrying diverse of the Dutch with him to assist him. The third of Iuly, the Ternataues tooke other prisoners and sold them to the Dutch. The 24. of August, the King of Ternata made one *Vogler* a Dutch Merchant, his Treasurer; at whose instalment in his new office, the Dutch gave seven great shot from the Castle. And this good correspondence, betweene the Ternatans and the Dutch in the Moluccoes, continued even untill, and after the execution of the English at Amboyna: which was (as hath beene shewed) in March 1623. *new stile*. Vpon the 14. of which moneth, the Dutch gave the King of Ternata, and other Blacks, two hundred Bails of Iapan Rice, with other presents: at the deliverie whereof, there were shot off from the Castle seven peeces of Ordnance, and three Vollies of small shot. By all which may appeare, how sincerely this Author applyeth the diffidence betweene the Dutch and the King of Ternata, which was now none at all, to this businesse of Amboyna,

B The next point is, that the Ternatans in the Moluccoes went about also to make truce with the Spaniards, without consent or knowledge of the Dutch: wherein this dealing of the Author is worse than the former. For this Treatie of truce appeareth by the Iournalls, to have beene holden the 19. of Iuly 1623. which was five moneths after the execution of the English at Amboyna, and so came too late to move suspicion against them.

C And yet this pretended feare and iealosie of the Moluccoes is further amplified by the strength of the Spaniard, being then (as this Author affirmeth) Master

ſter of the ſea there, and that by default of the Engliſh; who, contrary to the treaty of the yeere 1619. had deſerted the defenſe, and ſent no moe ſhips, neither to the Moloccoes, nor to the Manillaes: whence now the Spaniards had means to ſend ſhips, Gallies, and Pinaces, to the Moloccoes. What the ſtrength of the Spaniard in the Moluccoes (by ſea) was, at the time of this pretended feare, may appeare by the exploits before-mentioned, done upon them by the Curricuries of the Tenatans, without helpe of the Hollanders. But for the default of the Engliſh, which is heer odiouſly alledged, it will be requiſite to ſet downe the true cauſes wherefore the Engliſh relinquiſhed the action of defence, aſwel at the Manilliaes, as elſewhere; being a matter much aggravated upon all occaſions by the Hollanders, albeit themſelves have given the cauſe thereof. Wherefore briefly, the true motives of the Engliſh, there deſiſting from the action of defence, were as followeth. The Engliſh had, by agreement of the Councell of defence, two yeers together maintainsd a Fleet of fiue tall & warlike ſhips, to ioyne with the like ſtrength of the Hollanders, for the action of the Manilliaes, and the profit of the voyage (as the charge) to bee common to both Companies. The Dutch prepared another Fleet of ſeven ſhippes, all of their owne, for Macao, bordering upon Chyna, neer the Manilliaes, without giving knowledge thereof to the Engliſh at Iaccatra, untill their Fleet was ready to depart thence; well knowing, that upon ſuch warning it would be impoſſible for the Engliſh to prepare a like force to ioyne with them. To thoſe they appointed alſo eight Pinaces that were then abroad, to ioine; and afterwards

sent another ship with provisions unto them. This Fleet passing by two of the English ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the Manilliacs; the English welcomed them, and offered to ioyn with them in their exploit. Which the Dutch refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their owne, the English should neither participate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise, by agreement of the Councell of defense of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten shippes set forth at the equall charge of the English and Dutch, for the coast of Mallabar, to secure the trade in that part. Of the Dutch ships (abont a moneth after they set saile) two were found to bee so weake and leak, that they were faine to returne to Iaccatra. The rest being come to their quarter, two of the best of the Dutch ships were sent away by the Dutch Admirall, for the red Sea; contrary to their instructions and commission at Iaccatra from the Councel of defense, and notwithstaning the protestations, obtestations, and exclamations of the English against this prevarication. So that foure Caracks of the Portugals coming that way, the rest of the Fleet of the English and Dutch being thus weakned by the default of the foure Dutch ships aforesaid; the faireſt oportunity that ever hapned, eyther before or since the ioyning of the English and Dutch Companies, or is ever likely to offer it selfe in the future, was lost and utterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the Dutch have to complaine of the English for deserting the action of defense, and what reason and encouragement the English have to continue the ioynt action and charge with those that use so little sincerity, ever contriving the common

actions and charge to their private advantage; that when the ioynt forces are imployed to give the enemie worke in one part, they (the Hollanders) might with ease oppresse them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themselues.

The next suspition that this Author gathereth, is from the insolencies of the Ternatans of Amboyna, dwelling at Loho and Cambello, and thereabouts; who (as this Author saith) presumed now, beyond former exanple, to outrage the subiects of the Dutch, slaying them, and carrying them away for slaves, yea burning two of their houses, one at Loho, & another at Manichells: for which when the Governor went out with a Fleet to crave iustice and reparation, hee was braved by the Ternatans with a stronger Fleet than his owne: yea, they threatned to come with an hundred Curricurries against Amboyna. D

This dealing of the Author is like the former about the Treatie of peace with the Tedorians, and truce with the Spaniards. For when the Governour of Amboyna set forth the last Fleet of Curricurries before the apprehension of the English, hee stood on good tearmes with the Ternatans at Loho; neither of the Factories heere mentioned beeing then burnt or iniured. The Governour then went onely according to his yeerely custome, to visit the skirts and out-parts of Amboyna, and had no affront offered him. After that upon occasion of a slave of the English that ranne away, and, being afterwards laid hold on, was rescued by a reputed holy man of or neere that part; the English craved assistance of the Dutch Governour: who did his best, but was therein abused by those of Loho; and not only soue of his men

outraged, but the English Factor Master *Beomont* was way-laid by the people of the said holy man: and, in stead of him, one of the servants of the Dutch was slain between Cambello and Loho. The next day also, was *Beomont* himselfe assailed, and shot in the hand by the same holy mans people, who also a little before did their best to kill *William Grigs*, another of the English Factors, that finding the said slave at Loho, laid hold on him there. Vpon this occasion, both the English and Dutch left their Factorie at Loho, which was shortly after burnt by those Tarnatans. That other, touchiug the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, is more grossely applyed than the former; for that Factorie was burnt after the English were apprehended: besides that this Author dissembleth that there was a vehement and common suspicion at Amboyna, that this Factorie at Manichells was burnt, not by the Ternatans, but by the Dutch Factor himselfe, who, being there alone, was said to have first conveied away the goods of the Dutch & the English there for his owne use, and then to have burnt the Factorie; laying the fact upon the Ternatans.

After this indeed, the Governour of Amboyna made out a Fleet of Curricurries, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein not going so strong as he might, was braved by those Ternatans of Amboyna. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the English; and so is as honestly applied to move suspicion in this place, as the ioint quarrel of the English and Dutch with those of Loho, beginning upon occasion of the English: & as the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, done after the English

liſh were apprehended and impriſoned. As for the threats of the Ternatans here mentioned, that they would come with 100. Curricurries againſt Amboyna, it is (for ought any of the Engliſh ever heard) a meere fiction; at moſt, it was a vaine bragge, and ſuch as could not affright the Governour, that knoweth well that the Ternatans have no gun-powder, nor other proviſions, for ſuch an exploit; and yet are far behinde the Governour of Amboyna, for number of Curricurries, beſides the Dutch ſhipps and Caſtles.

The next cauſe of ſuſpicion, this Author makes to E
be an idle report in the Eaſt parts beyond Banda (uncertaine what, or by whom) that the Hollanders were already quit of their Caſtle at Amboyna. A poore pretence, and not worthy to be anſwered: yet ſtill further diſcovering what penury of good matter this Author had, that he was faine to borrow ſuch crazie ſtuffe.

But the laſt, and that which alone is expreſly apply- F
ed to the Engliſh, is, That about this time the Dutch underſtood, that thoſe of Loho and Cambello held gteat and ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh. How did the Dutch underſtand this? or why doth not this Author expreſſe the particular proofe, in a matter ſo pertinent? It is true, the Engliſh had their Factories at Loho and Cambello: but in the ſame houſes with the Dutch, and for their ioint accompt, and had trafficke with the countrey-people, as the Dutch had: but what ſecret correſpondencie is this? or what danger to the Dutch? Was the burning of the Factories, which belonged to the Engliſh as well as to the Dutch, a note of good intelligence between the Engliſh and the *Incendiaries*? What was that for

correſpondencie with thoſe of Loho, when at one time they way-layed M.*Beomont* to kill him, and at another time ſhot him in the hand with an arrow, offered to kill *William Grigs*, and from time to time abuſed and outraged our people, equally with, and as the Dutch? Further, our people, as wel as the Dutch, had now diſſolved their Factory at Loho, and were come all thence. What Letters or Meſſages did they ever ſend thither afterwards? or how, and by what means maintained they this correſpondence? Yet this was underſtood, ſaith this Relation. How underſtood? Perhaps by the Governors dreams: for that (as hee afterwards told M.*Welden hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from Banda) was a motive to him to examine the firſt Iapon, which was the beginning of the whole Proceſſe.

G The Author, having thus quit himſelfe in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it ſelfe, firſt ſetting down the occaſion and matter of the diſcoverie of this pretended plot, and then the confeſſions of the Iapons, and of the Engliſh: but he maketh no mention of any torture uſed upon the Iapons that firſt confeſſed, nor of any other *indicium* or preſumption to torture or examine that Iapon; but onely his curious queſtioning touching the ſetting and changing of the Watch, and of the number of the Souldiers in the Caſtle: which, what ſufficient *indicium* and cauſe it was to torture a Souldier of their owne, that, ſerving them, had reaſon to deſire to underſtand the courſe of their Watches, and the ſtrength of the aid hee might expect, if any ſudden attempt ſhould happen in his quarter; is eaſily to be iudged. And how this poor man, and the reſt of his country-men were tortured, appeareth

appeareth in the Englisſh relation. Here alſo is concealed, by what maner and kinde of queſtions, this and the other Iapons were ledde along in their confeſſions, to make up the plot iuſt as the Dutch had deviſed it: as alſo, what other anſwers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the Engliſh both, confeſſed what the Dutch would have them, is no doubt nor wonder, being ſo tormented and feared with torture; *Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*. But what liklyhood or poſſibilitie there is of the truth of their confeſſions (if yet they confeſſed as is here related) may appeare by that which hath beene alreadie diſcourſed in this point, towards the end of the Engliſh relation; which for brevitie ſake is here forborne to bee repeated. Yet ſome circumſtances, which the Dutch Relation hath more than the Engliſh, deſerve here to be examined. And firſt, that of *Abel Price* the Engliſh Barber, who is made the meſſenger & negotiator of this practice with the Iapons. It is true, that hee (and hee alone of all the Engliſh) had ſome kinde of converſation with ſome of the Iapons: that is, he would dice and drink with them, as he likewiſe did with other Blacks, and with the Dutch alſo. But is it credible, that M. *Towerſon* would commit any thing of moment, nay, ſo dangerous a matter as this, to a drunken debauched ſot, who alſo (as the Engliſh that were there, conſtantly report) threatned to cut his, the ſaid *Towerſons*, thraot, for that he had puniſhed him for his miſdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confeſſe, that all the Engliſh Marchants in the out-Factories, were privie and acceſſarie to this pretended treaſon: Yet the Governour and Fiſcall in their owne

pro

processe found *Iohn Powle, Ephraim Ramsey*, and two others guiltlesse.

H After *Price* his confession, he sets downe the generall substance of all the confessions in one body; where first having assigned Master *Towerson* a preface to the rest, to induce them to the exploit, he tells us; that they made doubt of the point of possibilitie, (as well as they might (knowing the weaknes of their owne part, and impregnable strength of the Dutch, in comparison of theirs: for satisfaction of which their doubt, he saith, M. *Towerson* told them that hee had already won the Iapons within the Castle to his purpose, and that he would attempt this matter, not when the Dutch were at their full strength, and the English at the weakest, but would expect till the Govenour should bee some where abroad upon some exploit, and some English ships, or ship at least, at Amboyna; the people whereof hee would use in the enterprize: Likewise, he would send for the Factors and slaves of the other Factories, and should have a supply from the Ternatans of Loho, of certaine Curricurries, &c.

I Here he hath inrolled a goodly armie for this action; but let us see the manner how they should have executed their exploit: And first for the Iapons in the Castel, we must beleeve, if this author or his voucher say true, that Master *Towerson* had acquainted those, and wonne them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his owne country-men the English. And yet in the acts of the processe, *Emanuel Tomson* is recorded to have confessed, that eight dayes after the consultation, Master *Towerson* told him, that hee had then sent out *Iohnson* and *Price* to treate with the

Iapons

Iapons, and winne their consent to this enterprise. But what should these (being all but ten) have done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Master *Towerson* had ordeined, that eight of them should have bin bestowed, by two in a company, upon the foure points of the Castle, to kill all those that should resist them, and to take the rest prisoners. It must bee (therefore) here imagined, that the Dutch and their Mardikers in their Castle, being three or 2. hundred, would scorne to take the advantage of sending fortie or fiftie, much more of an intire company, to any point of the Castle, but would combate with the Iapons at even hand by two at a time, and so give the Iapons leave & respit to kill or take them by two, & by two. A sweet conceit! and such a service as perhaps hath bin sometimes represented upon a stage, but never acted in surprise of a Castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the Iapons were to bee imployed; what should the other two have done? forsooth they should have waited in the great chamber to murther the Governor. Yea, but this relation told us yer while, that this plot should have beene executed when the Governor was abroad upon some action. How then should these two Iapons have killed him in the Castle, at the same time? But wee see how all the Iapons (that is, all the pretended partie of the English within the Castle) should have beene occupyed. Who should have opened the gates to the English, and their other aydes? who should have killed the Court of guard at the gate? These parts were left for them that were without: therefore let us take a review of them, what they were. The relation mustereth them to be fourteene English, where-

of eleven were Marchants, one Steward of the house, one Taylor, and one Barber, to dresse the wounded, besides God knowes how many English shippers, slaves, and Ternatans. First, for the English Marchants, of what dexteritie they are to take Forts is easily iudged; and in all the English house when it was seized by the Dutch, upon this pretended treason, the whole provision was but three swords, two hand-guns, and about halfe a pound of powder. Yea but the English ship or ships would have brought both fitter men and better provision. But how knew Master *Towerson* that those of the English ships, when they came, would ioyne with him in this worke being so contrary to the Treatie, and it selfe so dangerous? or why did he not stay the opening of the plot til this ship or ships were come, that he might sweare the shippers also, or at least the cheife Officers amongst them, and take their advice? Is it possible that Master *Towerson* was so slight, as to open his plot to all the English at Amboyna, yea to the Taylor and Barber; and, which is more, to the Iapons, so long before it was to bee put in execution, and before hee knew the mindes of his chiefest assistants, of whose arrivall he was so incertaine? Yea, but he was sure of the slaves of the English, and of the Ternatans of Loho, with their *Curricurries in quemlibet eventum.* This indeed is the remainder of the Armie; let us view them. The slaves were, in all the English Factories, iust sixe in number, and all boyes: the Ternatans were enemies aswell to the English as to the Dutch, as is before shewed in answer to the preamble. When were they reconciled? how commeth it, that in all the examinations of the English,

liſh, this point was not ſifted, and ſomewhat confeſſed of it amidſt ſo many tortures? There is no confeſſion thereof in all the examinations; and M. *Towerſon* in his expreſly denied it and was preſſed no further. The truth is, the Governour and Fiſcall of Amboyna knew, that what-ever had beene confeſſed in this point, would not have beene beleeved by their owne people there; who knew well enough, that the firſt beginning of this breach between the Dutch and Ternatans at Loho, was about the ſlave of the Engliſh: and the outrages thereupon following, were done upon the Engliſh, aſwell as upon the Dutch. Yet this Author ſeemes to hope, that that may be beleeved here in Europe, wch had no colour at *Amboyna*.

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was (as the relation ſaith) not yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the conſpirators, which ſhould be ſhortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerſon* had prepared all things, &c. Here was certainely a hot practiſe of treaſon, and worthy to be tearmed by this Authour An horrible conſpiracy. They met together on New yeares day, and ploted as it is before related: and now it was the five and twentith of February, and not only nothing done all this *Interim*, but not ſo much as a new conſultation. But this (forſooth) is the body and ſubſtance of the vniforme confeſſion of all the Engliſh, by themſelves ſeverally ſubſcribed. In the next place the Author relateth ſomewhat ſingular in M. *Towerſon*'s confeſſion; as that he ſaid, he was moved to this fact by hope and deſire of honour & profit: and being demanded from whom hee attended this honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Caſtle, his anſwer was, That if he could have compaſſed

his proiect, hewould forthwith have given advertiſement thereof to the reſt of his nation at Iaccatra (which now they have chriſtianed Batavia,) and have craved their aid: which if they had yeelded him, then hee would have held the Caſtle for the Engliſh Company; and if not, then hee would have kept it for himſelfe, and have uſed meanes to have agreed with the Indians: and ſo, by the one means or other, would have compaſſed the enterpriſe.

Here firſt is to be obſerved, that he would not (as this Author makes him ſpeake) have ſent for ayd to Iaccatra, untill hee were firſt Maſter of the Caſtle: and yet in the generall confeſſion before, it is ſaid, he would attend the coming of ſome Engliſh ſhippes or ſhip, before hee would adventure upon the Caſtle. Next, let the ambiguous and alternative reſolution, heer ſaid to be confeſſed by M. *Towerſon*, be conſidered in both the parts thereof, and it will appeare, that no man in his wits would have any ſuch conceit as is heer pretended. What hope could M. *Towerſon* have that the Preſident and Engliſh Councell at Iaccatra, living under command of the Dutch Fort there, and altogether ſubiect to the Hollanders, durſt ioyne in any ſuch action, thereby to give occaſion to the Hollanders to arreſt, torture, and condemn them of treaſon? M. *Towerſon* knew well enough, that about ſix moneths before, the Generall of the Dutch at Iaccatra, had caught at a very ſlight occaſion to entrap the Engliſh Preſident there: who having ſent out two of his people in the night to the Engliſh Cow-houſe, to ſee what watch the Blacks in their ſervice kept over their cattell; the ſaid two Engliſh were apprehended by the Dutch ſouldiers, kept in priſon ſeven daye

and

and charged, that they had said that they went the Round: and one of them, being last examined, was told by the Balieu (the officer of the Dutch in criminall causes,) that his fellow had confessed, that they had said they went the Round, and that by the English Presidents commission; and if he would not confesse the same, he should be tortured: but the fellow, being constant in the truth, came off at last without torture: yet this was *Item* enough to the English President and Councell, how the intent of the Dutch was to entrap them upon the least occasion: and this, and other daily captious dealings of the Dutch at Iaccatra, which were too long heere to receit, were all advertised from time to time to M. *Towerson*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, that were themselues in such a predicament. The other part of M. *Towerson's* resolution is said to have been, To keep the Castle for himselfe, and to agree with the Indians, in default of help from the English. This is yet more improbable than the former. Were the Portugals and Indians not able to keep out the Dutch from Amboyna, when they had no footing there; and shall Captaine *Towerson*, with twenty or thirty English and Iapons, without Ship or Pinace, be able, with the help only of the poor naked Indians, to drive them out, having already three Castles in the Ilands of Amboyna, and at Cambello hard by, all well furnished with men and provision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselves Lords of the Sea: And yet how could M. *Towerson* hope to winne the Amboynezes (the Hollanders sworn subiects) to his side? He might rather assure himselfe, that after he had mastered the

Hollanders (if yet that must be beleeved to be possible) the Amboynezes would have surprised him, and cast him out (beeing so weakly provided to stand of himselfe,) that so they might utterly free themselves from their servitude. Here also must be remembred, that this Author himselfe in his preamble saith, that the Indians themselues durst not undertake any such great signe (as he there feineth) against the State of Amboyna, without some great aid of some Nation of Europe, either of Spaniards, Portugals, or some other. Whereby is not onely confessed, how weake the Indians of themselues are; but withall it followeth, how small hope M. *Towerson* might have, being deserted of his owne Nation (as heer the case is put) to hold the Castle for himselfe by the help of those Indians, if yet hee could once have wonne it, In a word; they that know the power of the Hollanders in Amboyna and thereabouts, and the weakneſſe of the poore Indians there, will iudge this conceit of M. *Towerson's* (To keepe the Castle for himselfe) to be a mad plot; and for which, M. *Towerson* should rather have been sent to Bedlam, or the *Dullen Kist* (as the Dutch call it,) than to the Gallows.

M But this Author hath one voluntary confeſſion, upon which he taketh speciall hold; to wit, that M. *Towerson*, after his examination was finished, beeing expostulated withall by the Dutch Governour, and demanded whether this should have been the recompence of his (the Governors) manifold courtisies towards him; answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to doe, it should never bee done. "This voluntary confeſſion and penitent acknow-
"ledgement, saith this Author, was made the ninth

"of

"of March, being the day when the execution was "to be done: but the examination of *Towerson* was "ended the eight and twentith of February, so many "daies before. But how shall we beleeve this? Forsooth, hee hath it out of the Acts of the Processe of Amboyna. Yea, but in these Acts are omitted many materiall passages of these examinations, as is already shewed: why may they not then be guilty of addition, aswell as of such mutilation and omission? But let us peruse the words of the Act it selfe, which are these.

VVEE *whose names are heerunto subscribed, do declare upon our truth, in stead of an oath, that* Gabriel Towerson, *after that hee had beene already examined touching his said offence, and that the worshipfull Governor* Van Speult *had expostulated with him there upon, asking him whether this should have beene the recompence of his courtesies from time to time shewed unto him, the said* Towerson: *thereupon hee, the said* Towerson, *with a deep sigh answered him, and said, Oh! if this were to bee begunne againe, it should never be done. Actum this ninth of March, in the Castle of Amboyna, and subsigned.*

Harman van Speult.
Laurence de Maerschalck.
Clement Kersseboom.
Harman Crayevanger.
Peter van Zanten.
Leonart Clocq.

Thus we see the Act it selfe, and this pretended voluntarie confession of M. *Towerson*; which is not delivered

livered upon the credite of the Court or Councell at Amboyna (and yet how small that is, is before shewed) but upon the Attestation or Affidavit of the Governour and five others, the principall actors in this bloody Tragedie: And this not upon their oath, but upon their troth, or honest word (forsooth) in stead of an oath. The time when these words were uttered by M. *Towerson*, is not described by the day when he spake them, but only by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumstance of time is not only an usuall and customary solennity, and requisite in all such Attestations; but also in a businesse of this nature altogether necessarie: as likewise in this case, that of the place is. For if these words were spoken in the place of torture, or incontinently after the examination ended, they are by their owne law, esteemed no more voluntarie, than the confession upon the Racke it selfe. Neither yet doth this Attestation affirme, that this confession was voluntarie. But this Author, unconscionably reporting the date of the Attestation, for the time of the confession, collects it to be voluntary, because (as he saith) it was made the ninth of March, being so many dayes after his examination, which was taken the 28. of February. Can a man attest nothing but what was done upon the very day when he maketh Affidavit? The Attestation saith, that these words were spoken by M. *Towerson* after he had bin alreadie examined. Why may not that have beene rather upon the very day of his examination, than upon the day when this Act was entred, if yet he ever spake any such words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted? the contra-

rie

rie whereof is the more probable, by all the circumstances of this businesse, truely set downe in the Relation of the English.

But in that this Author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of M. *Towerſons* profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary confession; it is plain how distitute he was of voluntary confessions, and of all true and concluding circumstances. What? was there not a letter or other paper, to be found in all the Chests and Boxes of the English, so suddenly seised at Amboyna, Larica, Hitto, and Cambello, to discover this treason? nor amongst so many complices of divers nations, a false biother to betray the rest, and accuse them voluntarily; but the processe must begin with the torture, & the Heathens confession upon torture, be sufficient to bring Christians to torture? the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Price* was) to draw torture upon the sober, orderly, and unstained? And yet this Relation it selfe confesseth, that *Price*'s confession was drawne from him by the Examiners specifying of place, persons, and time unto him. Certainely one of their owne Nation had reason to advise, that more Advocates might be sent over to the Indies, to ayde the accused, to make a legal answer; For, saith he, they goe to worke there so villanously and murtherously, that the blood of the poore people cryeth to heaven for vengeance. *Demanstration to the Lords Stats, touching the governement of the Matores.*

But why have we no particular of any mans confession, but this of *Price* and M. *Towerſon*; and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellowes, or confesse more

than they? Where is *Sharrocks* confession, that hee was at Amboyna upon New-yeares day, when ten or twelve of the Dutch themselves witnessed he was at Hitto? Where is his confession of *Clarkes* plot to go to Maccassar, to deale with the Spaniards there to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins* confession of another plot, about two moneths and a halfe before his examination, undertaken by *Tomson*, *Iohnson*, *Price*, *Browne*, *Fardo*, and himselfe? Where be the leading Interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the Dutch, lest otherwise there had beene as many severall treasons confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deale more of this kind, which is here in England proved by the oath of six credible persons, to have passed in the examinations. Whereby appeareth, how faithfully the Dutch at Amboyna have entred the Acts of this processe. Well, at last he concludes the narration of the confessions, with the summing up of the number and nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, hee saith, were ten Iapons, foureteene English, and the Netherlandish Marnicho, or Captaine of the Slaves. By which last words, hee would give the Reader occasion to thinke, that the fact was so cleere, and their owne proceeding so even and iust, that they had executed owne of their owne Neatherlanders for it. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the English Relation. The truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the Portugall race, and born in Bengala. His very name, *Augustine Perez*, sheweth, he was no Neatherlander.

N Having thus finished this relation, this Authour pro-

proceedeth to a disputation: and taking notice of some arspersions in England cast upon these proceedings at Amboyna, he divideth them into two heads; the one, that the processe was without its due formalitie; the other, that there was excesse and extremitie used against the Conspirators. For the point of formalitie, he first taketh great paines to proove, that the formalities of processe in Amboyna, are not therefore unlawfull, because they agree not with our forme in England. Which labour he might have spared: for no wise man will deny him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the Dutch for varying from us herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithall also hee deduceth the title of the Lords States generall to the Soveraigntie of Amboyna; and so the Governour of Amboynaes iurisdiction, in causes as well criminall as civill, to bee rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the Iapons being sworne servants to the Dutch, and in their pay, were subiect to the iurisdiction of the Dutch Governor. Then he telleth us, that the Authors and complices of murther and reason, are by the lawes of all nations to be punished with death; all which points may bee granted him without any preiudice to the cause of the English in this question.

At last he comes in perticular to their case, and affirms, that the chiefe of the English there might not apprehend the English complices of this conspiracy, because themselves were complices of the fact. Which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, & safe custodie: but how it may proceed al-

ſo in the point of connuſance, ſhall bee anon in due place examined.

In the meane time, this Authour, to make the point of apprehenſion cleere beyond exception, ſaith, that the Engliſh were not apprehended upon the firſt ſuſpicion, when yet there was evidence, and *indicia* ſufficient to doe it; but after the examination of all the Iapons and their ioynt confeſion, that the Engliſh, whom they ſpecified by name and ſurname, had moved and hired them to this treaſon: yea, not untill *Abel Price* had alſo confeſſed as much, and that all the Engliſh in the out Factories were privie there unto. For anſwer hereof, that muſt bee repeated which hath beene upon other occaſion before alleaged, that the firſt beginning of the proceſſe, was by the torture, there being no ſufficient evidence, or *indicium* to torture the Iapon, that onely ſought to enforme himſelfe of the courſe of the Watch, and of the ſtrength of the Caſtle, wherein himſelfe was a ſouldier: and ſo the whole *Serees* of the examination proceding from the confeſſion of one tortured perſon, to apprehend and torture another, without other evidence; though it brought forth more confeſſions, and thoſe with name and ſurname, and other circumſtances, according as the Interrogatories (or rather directories) of the Governour and Fiſcall led the priſoners, was wholly againſt the forme and rule of all lawes of tortures;

Scilicet infabrica ſi prava eſt regula prima.
Cætera mendosè fiere atque obſtipa neceſſe eſt.

But here muſt be anſwered an obiection that may be made againſt this, from another part of this relation,

on, that is, that ſome of the Engliſh confeſſed without or before torture; yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not tortured at all, or very lightly. Yea but he was ſhewed the tortured bodyes of the poore Iapons, martyred with fire and water, and told, that unleſſe he would confeſſe that which they told him they had firſt confeſſed, he ſhould be tortured as ill, or worſe than they. This feare of torture is by their owne law, equalled to the torture it ſelfe, and conſequently, the confeſſion thereupon made no better *indicium* or evidence to bring another man to the torture, than the confeſſion made upon the racke it ſelfe. Againe, it muſt bee here remembred, that the very matter of *Price* his confeſſion here mentioned, to wit, that all the Engliſh Merchants of the out Factories, were privie to the pretended treaſon; was refuted by the proceſſe of the Dutch themſelves, that found *Powle*, *Ramſey*, and two others of thoſe Factories guiltleſſe.

Next, this Author taketh notice of an obiection made in England againſt the iuriſdiction of the Dutch Governour, and his Councell at Amboyna, over the Engliſh there, becauſe this power is, by the Treatie of the yeare, 1619. diſpoſed of, and agreed to conſiſt in the Councell of defence of both nations at Iaccatra. For information in which point this Author ſaith, he hath peruſed over all the ſeverall articles of the ſaid Treatie, and findeth in the 23. article, that the Fortreſſes were to remaine in the hands of them that then poſſeſſed them; and in the thirteeuth, foureteenth, and fifteenth, that the Councell of defence hath no other power, but onely over the Fleet of defence, over the commerce, and finally,

ly, to taxe the charges of maintenance of the Forts: But he could not see the thirtieth article; which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should bee remitted into Europe; first, to the two companies there, and in default of their agreement, to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former articles, to limit the Councell of defence; and this generall article appeareth to be added by way of ampliation, to provide for that which was not particularly and expresly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation upon this thirtith article, agreed upon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, *An.* 1619. where this course of proceeding is expresly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter hapning in their common aboad. Since which also the kings Majesty hath, upon a smaler occasion then the life of his subiects, cleerly declared himself in the point of Soveraignty; that both nations in the Indies should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof over each other. Which declaration was sent to the Lords States Generall, and by them accepted before this bloody butchery was executed.

But if it were granted, that the Hollanders are absolute Lords of their partners the English in those parts, without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the Holāders is *Amboyna* are bound to observe the lawes of the united Provinces, for so saith this author himselfe. Do these allow to begin the processe at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the racke; vpon others confession made in the torture?

Doe

Doe their lawes allow of the leading interrogatories above mentioned, to direct the priſoner what to ſay, to avoide the torture? Where, in the vnited Provinces, is that drowning with water, in uſe? or the torture with fire, uſed to *Iohnſon*, *Tomſon*, and *Clarke*? or eſpecially the ſplitting of the toes, and launcing of the breaſt, and putting in gun-powder, and then firing the ſame, whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocency, nor execution? *Clarke* and *Tomſon* were both faine to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Laſtly, their confeſſions were contradictory, apparantly falſe, and of things impoſſible to bee done, much leſſe practiſed before by the ſaid parties; and therefore ought not by their law to have beene beleeved, nor the priſoners to have beene condemned thereupon, without other ſufficient *indicia* or evidence beſides.

In the laſt place, this Authour handleth the exceſſe of torture whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in England, and ſaith, That the Lords States generall take great care to enforme themſelves of all the paſſages of this buſineſſe; and to that end have deſired to ſee all the letters, peeces, and papers that concerne this proceſſe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture uſed. But ſuppoſe the acts make no mention of them; is it any marvell that the Authours of this murtherous and tyrannous proceſſe, being themſelves the perſons that alſo formed the acts, would omit thoſe things that made againſt them? It is to be preſumed alſo, that the acts kept by their people at Poloway in Banda, have omited many things of their proceſſe,

ceſſe, againſt the poore, Polaroones, whom in Auguſt, 1622. being about ſix moneths before this execution of the Engliſh, their Governour there uſed in like ſort, as the Governour of Amboyna did the Engliſh, and gave him a modell and precedent of this proceſſe. Which it will not bee amiſſe to relate briefly, becauſe this Authour, in the next place, alleadgeth the merciful diſpoſition of the Netherlands nation in general, to inferre thence, that it is unlikely, that their Governour at Amboyna was ſo cruell, as is reported in England.

Polaroon, one of the Ilands of Banda, was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh at the time of the treaty, *Anno* 1619. and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the treaty, came unto the Indies, the Hollanders forbare publiſhing thereof in the Iſlands of Banda, untill they had taken Polaroon. But, knowing that it muſt be reſtored againe, according to the treaty, they firſt take all courſes to make the Iland little or nothing worth: they demolliſh & deface the Buildings, tranſplant the Nutmeg-tree, plucking them up by the roots, and carrying them into their owne Iſlands of Nera and of Poloway, there to bee planted for themſelves; and at laſt find a means to diſpeople the Iland, and to leave it ſo, as the Engliſh might make no uſe of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that upon this occaſion: There was a young man, the ſon of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in Polaroon, that had committed felony; For which, by the Lawes of his Country, he was to die. This fellow, to ſave his life, fled to another Iland of Banda, called Roſinging, and there turned Chriſtian: but quickly underſtanding, that that would not make him ſafe from puniſhment,

he

hee went back secretly to his owne Countrey of Polaroon; and, having lurked there a few daies, tooke his passage for Nera, another Iland where the Dutch have a Fort; and told the Dutch Governour, that the Orankeys of Polaroon had conspired to massacre the Dutch, as well at Polaroon, as at Poloway, with help of the people of Seran, that should send over thirtie Curricurries for that purpose. Immediately upon this *indicium* of this malefactor, certaine Prows or Fisher-boats of the Polaroons, that were fishing at Poloway, were seized, and the people made prisoners. Command was sent by the Dutch Governor to Polaroon, that the Orankeys should come over to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The Priest of the Polaroons and seventie Orankeyes instantly took a Prow or small vessell of their owne, and imbarked themselves for Poloway. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the Dutch Castle, they were met by a Fisher-boat of Bandanezes, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to Poloway, they were all but dead men. Nevertheless, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and means to have escaped to Seran and other places safe enough from the Hollanders, yet were so confident of their innocency, that they would needs to Poloway to purge themselves. Where, assoone as they were arrived, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Governor, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for Polaroon; whence hee fetched all the rest of the Orankeys, and brought them prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were comne, they were presently brought to the torture of

water and fire, even in the same sort as our people were afterwards at Amboyna; onely herein differing, that of those at Poloway, two were so tortured, that they died in their torture: the rest, beeing one hundred sixty two persons, were all, upon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the Mallaian Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poore, black and white, look to it: we have commited no fault. And when hee would have spoken more, he was taken by the hands & feet, laid along, & cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the Governour caused the wives children, ann slaves of those of Polaroon, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subject to the Dutch; and so have made a cleere Countrey for the English, where they may both plant and gather themselves, destitute of the help of any of the Country-people; without whom, neither the English nor Hollanders can maintaine their trade in the Indies. And yet this is not here recited, to the end thereby to charge the Neatherlands Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselves that have committed those barbarous tyrannies: Who, if wee shal beleeve an Authour of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Maiores (as this Author sayes) use the Indies as a *Tucht-house* or Bridewell, to manage their unruly & unthrifty children & kindred: whom when the cannot rule & order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred, to offices and places of governement. Yea saith he, they prefer such to be Fiscals there, as never saw study nor law. So that it is no marvell, that such persons proceed not

Nootwendich Discourse, printed Ann. 1622. under the name of Ymant van Waarmond

not with that iustice and moderation as is used generally in the Low Countries, by the choyce of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of out Merchants of credit, that came lately from Amboyna; who averre, that, excepting the Governour himselfe, who is well stept in yeares, of the rest of the Councel there, as wel the Fiscall as others, there was scarce any that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons, and yet must be Iudges aswell of our English, as the poor Indians there.

Now to returne to this Authors proofes, that there was no excesse used in the proceedings, at the last he taketh one argument by way of comparison, from the Law of England to presse men to death: which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of torture, used by the Dutch in Amboyna, and is holden, as well by some Authors of our owne Nation as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this matter of Pressing alleaged, for iustifying of their tortures, since no man in England is pressed for not confessing, which is the cause of torture in Dutchland? But the cause why any is pressed, is, for that he obstinately refuseth the tryall of his countrey, and challengeth the Iudges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him: which he doth (for the most part) to save his goods, which, but by that ordinary course of tryall, cannot be confiscate. What is this to the point of confession, for refusall whereof, the Dutch use the Torture? And yet no man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of their countrey herein; nor yet in their execution, when they breake the legges, armes and thighes of the ma-

lefactors, and then ſet them upon a wheele on the end of a great pole, there to languiſh to death: an execution farre more direfull than the Engliſh preſſing, which is ſo ſuddenly done, and ſo ſeldome uſed. But why doth hee not name the Author of owne or foraine Writers, which condemne this kinde of execution? Let him doe it yet, and he ſhall have moe Authors of his owne Countrey, that condemne their courſe of tortures: and yet the Engliſh complaine not of the courſe in generall, but of the unlawfull uſe of it; contrary to the rules of the Lawes even of the vnited Provinces. Laſtly, in this point the Author pretendeth, that little or no torture was uſed in this Proceſſe. What the torture was, and in what degree, appears in the Engliſh relation: but he can finde little or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not find it? or what if their Officers of Amboyna, have conceal'd it? ſhall we not beleeve, thoſe that ſuffered it themſelves? ſhall we not beleeve thoſe, that beeing themſelves acquitted, yet heard the cryes, and ſaw the bodyes of *Iohnſon*, *Clarke*, and *Tomſon*, and have confirmed their relation by their corporall oathes? As for the Act of the five & twentith of Febuary, which this Authour hath here tranſcribed; it cannot bee a true act: for therein it is ſaid, that that day all the Engliſh were examined one by one, and ſome before torture, and ſome after confeſſed the fact. Whereas it appeareth not onely by the Engliſh Relation, but by this very Author in the precedent page, that they were not all examined the ſame five and twentith day of Febuary; but that the examination continued ſix daies together, even to the third of March inclusiue. How then could the Act of the five and twentith of

Febru-

February have all their confessions? By this may appeare, what credit may be given to these Acts, or else to this Author. Here also by the way he tels us of the deliberation of their Councell; whether the punishment of the fact might be respited, or the cause removed: wherein it was resolved, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example sake: and might not be respited, for feare lest the conspirators (as he tearmes them) might have moe dependances than yet were knowne, and in particular, the Ternatans and other Indians about Amboyna. A poore pretext: as if, having all the English in irons aboard their severall ships, they should need to fear their ioyning with the Ternatans. But it may be, they feared some English ships also to come thither: for so they had made their owne people beleeve. And therefore, two ships being descried at sea, the Dutch and their free Burghers cried out, That there were the English that should have holpen to take the Castle: but when they arrived, they proved to bee two shippes of the Hollanders, come from Iaccatra: wherein was a Letter from the President of the English there, to call away Captain *Towerson* and all the English from Amboyna to Iaccatra. Which Letter was opened and read by the Dutch Governour, while our people were yet in prison, and not executed, and might well have secured him, that there was no further danger to be feared of the English aide of shipping, what-ever the English prisoners had through torture confessed.

At last the Author comes to the sentence it selfe, transcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of March, That the Colledge of Iudges being then Competent,

and calling upon the name of the Lord to assist them in this mournfull assembly, to preside in their hearts, and inspire them with equity and iustice, proceeded to sentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the Act may be thus formed, and yet no prayer at all made: or if there were any such prayer, yet the proceedings wel weighed, will shew it to be but like *Iezabels* Fast, the preparative to the false iudgement against *Naboth*. Neyther will the wise and indifferent Iudges of this whole matter, conceive the better of the cause, for the hypocriticall formalities therein observed.

S Last of all, he concludes his treatise with a iustification, yea an Elogie and commendation of the whole proceedings of the Dutch at Amboyna against the English, not finding the least to be blamed in the Dutch, but aggravating the crime of the English very ridiculously, because (forsooth) that this plot among other things, was against the wealth & advantage of the Netherlands East India company: as if a conspiracy of this kinde (if any such had bin) must needs bee treason; or as if the intent onely in any crime but treason, were cappitall.

Thus have we examined this strained iustification of that most barbarous and execrable processe of Amboyna; consisting of a preamble, full of false and forged suspicions; a narration of the fact, fraugh with ridiculous, absurdities, contrarieties, and impossibilities; & lastly, of a dispute of impertinences, with concealement of the maine grounds of the English griefs. All which verifieth that of *Papinian*, That Parricides are more easily committed than defended.

FINIS.